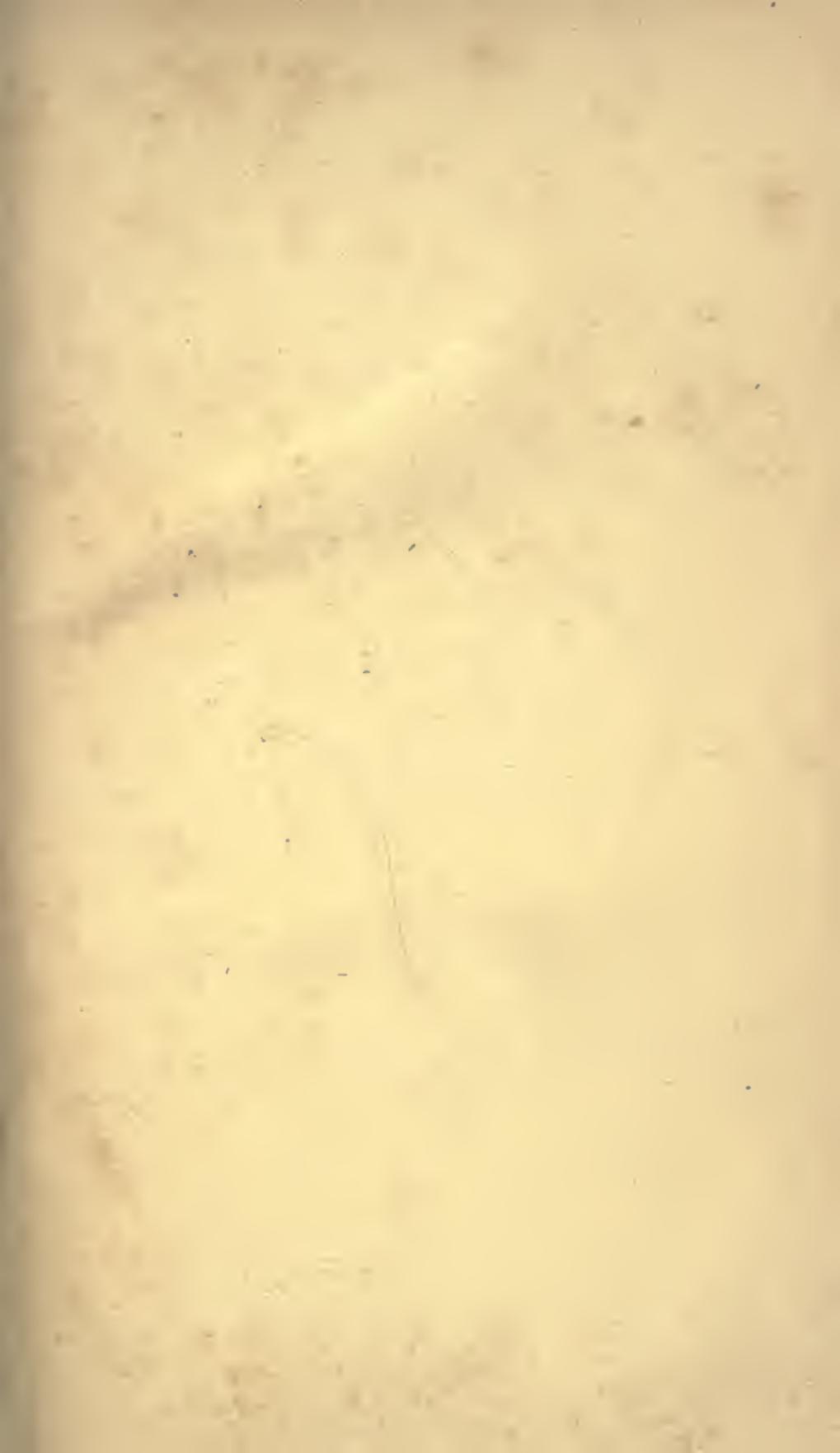


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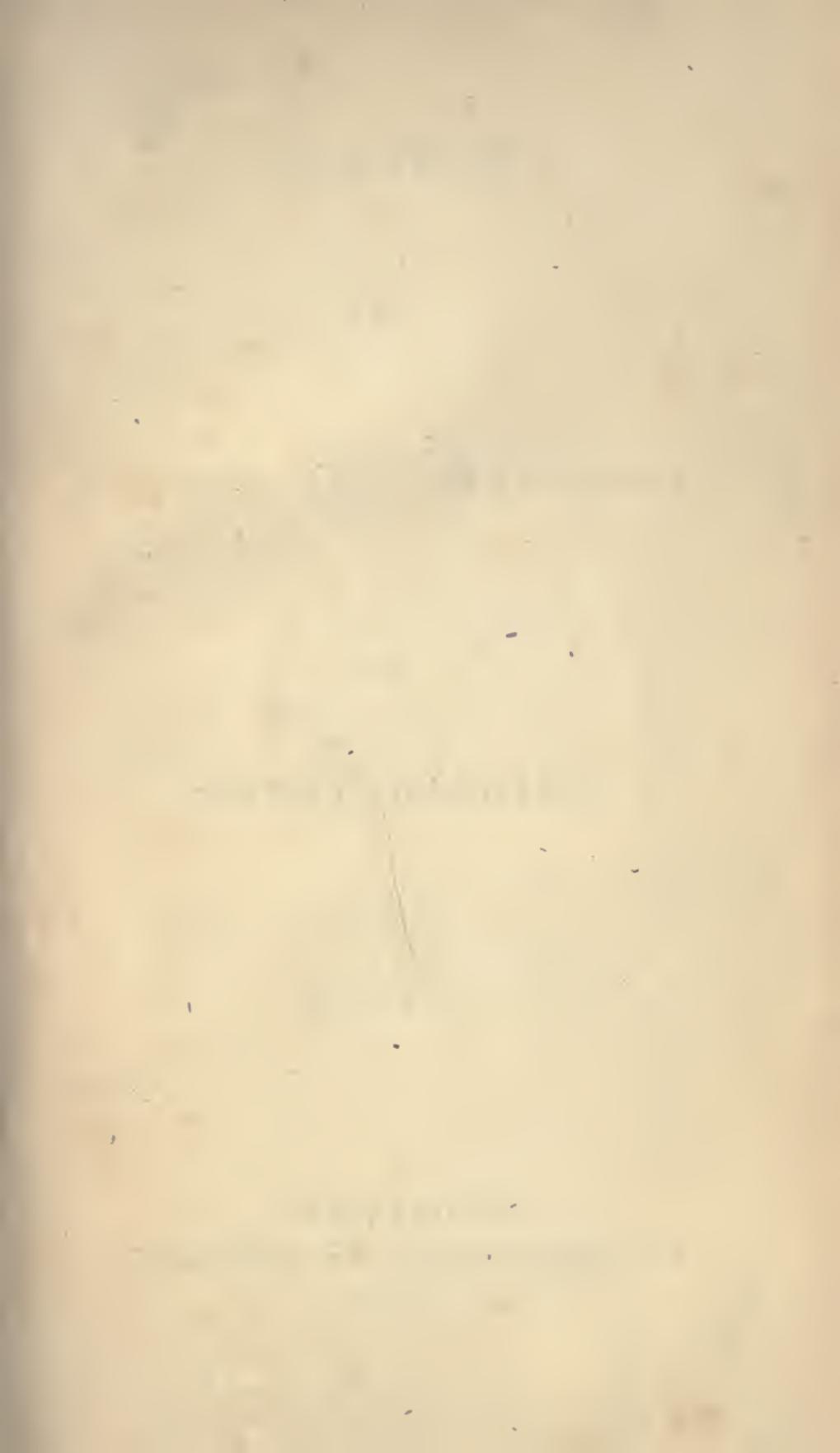
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MEMORIES

OF

YOUTH AND MANHOOD.

BY

SIDNEY WILLARD.

VOLUME I.

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P R E F A C E.

THREE or four years since, on Commencement day at Harvard College, after having dined in the Hall, I met in the area between the buildings a small group of the Alumni, my juniors in age and college standing of about the period of one generation ; and, after a few words of friendly greeting, one of the number expressed to me strongly the wish that I would write and publish memorials of my times, particularly with reference to the University, with which I had been connected as a student and an officer from my entrance to College, in 1794, to my resignation of the Hancock Professorship, at the close of 1831, excepting a short interval in 1805 – 6. The wish expressed was as urgent as it was unexpected ; and however rash the act might have been in the individual, several were present who committed themselves fully as accessories. Even had I been conscious of the ability to execute such a task well and worthily, a prompt answer

of compliance with their wishes could not be expected. It was a matter for me to think of; and assured of this, they had gained all that they could reasonably demand.

When I came to think of it, there seemed at first to be nothing before me but the image of the surface of large and long sheets of paper, divided into periods of time, that never could be filled with such imprints of memory as any one would care to look at. From every starting-point of time, all progress seemed to be hopeless, in regard to its succession of events worth recording in order to fill up the blanks.

In despair, I began to soliloquize: "O that I had kept a Diary! a diary of facts! recorded facts, which lead to issues oftentimes that the recorder never dreamed of." It is impossible to draw an exact line between useful and useless facts. Things, sayings, and doings, casual and local, that appear to promise nothing and to have no future, are sometimes the prototypes of improved copies which become general and pervasive. By searching for examples of facts which at first in the abstract appear unimportant, we shall find that many both in physical and moral matters become suggestive, and lead to important results.

The steam that lifts the cover of a culinary vessel, by discovery of higher uses, has become a primary power in producing the revolutions of

the ponderous wheel; and instead of what was regarded as its chief use in the culinary vessel, namely, the indication of the boiling of water,—while its operation in moving the cover was regarded rather as the accident, or ultimate fact,—practical philosophy has converted it into a mighty dynamic agent.

A fact which would be overlooked by the incurious, when it is brought to light by accident, and gets into the hands of the right possessor, may sometimes prove to be of great moment. The Rosetta stone which was thrown up by French soldiers in Egypt, when digging for the foundation of a fort, was looked upon merely according to its general appearance, as a mutilated block of black basalt. The French artists discovered and engraved a part of three inscriptions found upon it, which they regarded only as symbolical and copied as curiosities inexplicable. But afterward Champollion, coming to the knowledge of this mere fact, started with the theory that the Egyptians must have had alphabetical characters for recording names of persons, and verified his theory by close inspection and investigation. Thus seemingly accidental was this great discovery from a block of stone, which might, in ordinary circumstances, have been buried at the foundation of a new wall.

It was at Rome, in the year 1764, that Gibbon, as he said, "sat musing amidst the ruins of the

Capitol, and was seized with the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city." His "original plan," he added, "was circumscribed to the decay of the city." Thus the decay of the ancient city, of its magnificent temples and works of art, suggested by the ruins of the Capitol, led to the purpose of writing a local history, which by reading and reflection grew more comprehensive, until it embraced the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

It was well said by Lord Bacon, "Out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, records, and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books, and the like, we do save and recover somewhat from the deluges of time." In like manner many human actions and opinions, which by the mass of mankind are regarded with indifference, in ordinary cases, are found, when viewed in relation to circumstances and motives, to lead to important inferences, axioms, and issues, which demonstrate their inherent good or evil. But to me—"Heu misero mihi! nequeo quin fleam"—the diary is wanting.

But as my days have been prolonged to a period when one is apt to feast on the memories of the past, I have been endeavoring for two or three years, (with many weary pauses occasioned by disease and pain, which were also warnings that I had no time to lose,) until I have completed the twelfth year beyond my grand cli-

macteric, to recall some things, during this long period, which I have seen and heard and known and done. To this endeavor I was led by the suggestions and wishes of friends and kindred, and by the love I bear to *them* and to my living descendants who shall survive me. From most of these friends and kindred, in the common course of nature, I shall soon be removed to another sphere, as I trust of life and action, of final and endless abode, and of rest from the anxieties of this present existence, brief to him who lives the longest, and mysterious, above all, if it were the appointed end of being. Whatever pleasure or instruction I may impart belongs primarily to them ; to others, if any, it will be in a manner incidental. But if I live and witness both, it will be a reward of what was well meant, that will never cease to be felt ; for it is true of the aged, that

“ Their drooping fancy wakes at praise,
And strives to trim the short-lived blaze.”

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ACCORDING to the usual practice of writers of memoirs which are in part personal, I begin with some account of my progenitors.

SIMON WILLARD, born in the parish of Horsemenden in the Lathe of Aylesford and County of Kent, about forty miles southeast of London, and baptized the 7th of April, A. D. 1605, probably not many days after his birth, came to Massachusetts with his wife, and perhaps one or two children, in the year 1634. Born as he was within the pale of the Church of England, by law established, he yet grew up a Puritan, and left the country of his fathers amidst the tyrannical persecutions

of Laud, who had recently become Archbishop of Canterbury. He first took up his abode in Cambridge (Newtown). - The property assigned to him, in the distribution of lands, is recorded in the proprietors' records thus: "Symon Willard on the West side of Charles River, one hundred acres of land, with one house there-upon." He also came into possession of a house and garden, southwesterly of the College grounds, near the river, bounded westerly by Water-Street and northerly by Long Street, the original names, perpetuated by successive deeds.*

In the year 1635, Simon Willard, with Rev. Peter Bulkley, a silenced nonconformist, removed to Concord, having obtained from the General Court a grant of land extending six miles on the river; for which they, with others, bargained with the natives, paid them their price, and lived in peace. He seems to have been at once singled out for various agencies in laying out and organizing towns, settling disputed claims, &c., requiring energy, enterprise, and sound judgment. At the first election of a Deputy to represent Concord in the General Court he was chosen, and afterwards annually, with three exceptions, until 1654, when he was chosen an Assistant, and to this office again, annually, until his death.

In 1656, if not earlier, he was chosen Sergeant-Major, between which officer and the Major-General there was no intermediate grade. In 1659 he removed to Lancaster, in consequence of the repeated importunities of some of the inhabitants to come to them and instruct them in the management of their municipal affairs, and

* This same piece of ground I purchased in the year 1817, then wholly ignorant of the fact above stated.

afterwards, about 1672, to Groton, where he had a house and a large landed estate.

Major Willard was actively engaged in his military capacity during Philip's war. He relieved the garrison at Brookfield, which he reached after a perilous march, when the inhabitants who had fled thither were in the greatest extremity, being surrounded by a greatly superior force of Indians, and in momentary danger of destruction by the enemy setting fire to the building, or the massacre of such as should attempt to save themselves by flight.

During the progress of that war he was constantly on duty, with inadequate forces under his command, against enemies whose modes of warfare were of a kind to occasion the utmost perplexity, and who, by sudden surprises and simultaneous attacks on different places, were enabled, when the citizens were least on their guard, to accomplish their fatal purposes. Thus it was at Lancaster and Groton, and in each place his house was burned. Houseless, and worn out with care and anxiety and overaction unsuited to a man so far advanced in years, he retired to Charlestown, where he died on the 24th of April, 1676. Hubbard, in his History of New England, who must have been well acquainted with his personal character and public services, entitles him "that honored person, that worthy patriot and experienced soldier."*

* For most of the facts in this biographical account, I am indebted to Joseph Willard, Esq., of Boston; namely, for the different localities of Major Willard, and for his various offices, municipal, civil, and military, &c. He has saved me a great deal

SAMUEL WILLARD, the second son of Simon Willard, was born at Concord, January 31, 1640, and graduated at Harvard College, 1659. Of his previous training nothing is absolutely known, though something may be inferred from circumstances. From the character of his father and the usual domestic discipline of the times, we can hardly doubt that he was subjected to strict rules of family government, and received faithful instruction adapted to his years. Then there was Peter Bulkley, before mentioned, the minister of Concord, who was educated at St. John's College in Cambridge University, of which also he had been a Fellow. We may well believe that the son of his most intimate friend would receive from him especial encouragement and assistance in preparation for college, followed by a deep interest in his good name and progress in his studies, while thus removed from his father's household.

Three years after he left College he preached in Groton, and made so favorable an impression, that the people "Voted, that if Mr. Willard will accept of it, he shall be their minister as long as he lives." They also made him liberal grants of land, and voted for his use "the town's interest in the house and lands that were devoted by the town for the ministry." Forty pounds was voted for his salary the first year, which was gradually increased in successive years, until it

of labor, besides the satisfaction given me from a full reliance on the accuracy of the facts, coming from one who knows how to weigh evidence, and who is too honest to pass off conjectures for verities.

reached eighty pounds. Of his ordination no account is known to exist. He continued in the ministry in Groton until the destruction of the town by the Indians.

On the 31st of March, 1678, he was installed as minister of the Old South Church in Boston, and colleague of Thomas Thacher. For a description of his personal character as a man and a minister of the Gospel, and of the estimation in which he was held as a preacher by his parish and by the public, and as a divine by his professional brethren, I quote a few sentences from the Funeral Sermon preached by Ebenezer Pemberton, his junior colleague. "He had a deep thought and penetrating sagacity to make a just estimate of things on sudden emergencies, which made him justly esteemed one of the wisest men of his order in our land. His natural genius and spirit seemed superior to all narrow, selfish interests, not governed by the rules of carnal policy, nor biased by private views; but appeared to be almost uncapable to be under the commanding influence of anything but what was great, good, and honorable. He had a native modesty, which continued in his advanced years, seldom known in conjunction with gifts of so conspicuous an elevation, which might seem to some to veil the brightness of some of his public appearances, though in the opinion of others was but a foil to his greater excellences. His spirit was truly pacific, and could sacrifice everything but duty for peace, and accounted nothing too dear, but truth and holiness, for the purchase of it."

In private he was resorted to by the scrupulous, the doubting, and perplexed, as a trustworthy casuist; and

his counsels were sought and listened to by students of divinity, candidates for the ministry, and young divines, with frequency and confiding hearts. From all that was said of him, as well in private intercourse as in his public preaching, there seems to have been a remarkable infusion of affectionate feeling into his sound orthodoxy, the orthodoxy of the day, which he held in common with his brethren. The praise bestowed upon him by Pemberton, though in all things abundant, reached its surpassing fulness in describing the eloquence of his exhortations to a holy life. "The duties of holiness he explained and enforced with the most powerful arguments, and with an address suited to melt the rocky heart, to bow the stubborn will, to humble the proudest sinner and charm the deafest adder."

The decided stand which Mr. Willard took against the delusion of witchcraft, after it had reached a height when opposition was hazardous on account of the malignity of accusers, and neutrality hardly safe, was a remarkable evidence of a calm, contemplative mind, united with honesty and firmness of purpose and energy of will, fortified by an unswerving conscience, that would listen to no warnings against personal danger, and surrender to no motives for silence. In public, no less than in private, by resisting the madness which was countenanced by brethren in the ministry and openly strengthened by the famous Cotton Mather, and more cautiously by Increase Mather,— while his personal friendship for the judges who condemned the accused, Stoughton, and particularly Sewall, who was a prominent member of his church, was intimate and strong,—

he not only manifested an independence in favor of the right, but gained a glorious victory of conscience over inferior personal considerations and cherished affections, which was not forgotten when reason recovered her sway over reflecting men and officers of justice. "It ought never to be forgotten," said Pemberton, in his Funeral Sermon, "with what prudence, courage, and zeal he appeared for the good of the people in that dark and mysterious season when we were assaulted from the invisible world, and how signally instrumental he was in discovering the cheats and delusions of Satan which threatened to stain our land with blood, and to deluge it with all manner of woes."

It does not appear that Stoughton, the Chief Justice, was distressed by any compunctions of conscience on account of the sentence of death passed upon the miserable victims accused of witchcraft. Sewall, however, is spoken of with tenderness by some contemporary writers, as consenting, with some misgiving, to the judgments. He was too manly, however, to shelter himself in this way, whatever truth there might be in the poor palliation; and was so conscience-smitten, that he made a voluntary public confession of his error, which was read by Mr. Willard in the congregation, the Judge standing the while, on a day of public fasting and prayer. It is not improbable that the firm, persistent efforts of his minister to expose the fallacies of the wide-spread delusion, had its just effect upon the understanding and feelings of his distinguished friend and parishioner.

Among Willard's printed tracts was one relating to the panic of which I have spoken, entitled, "Some

Miscellany Observations respecting Witchcraft, in a Dialogue between S. and B., 1692." Between fifty and sixty Sermons of his were printed in his lifetime. Several of these were Funeral Sermons; one of which was upon Governor Leverett's death, and one upon Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton's. Two were Election Sermons,—1682 and 1694; and two Artillery Election, the first entitled "The Heart Garrisoned," 1676, the second, "The Man of War," 1699. Here and there in the catalogue, but not often, we find the title of a Sermon expressed in a phrase somewhat quaint, according to a more ancient fashion, obsolescent, but not then obsolete; such as, "The Fiery Trial"; "No Strange Thing"; "Heavenly Merchandise"; "Love's Pedigree," from the text, 1 John iv. 19, "We love him, because he first loved us."

The work of most imposing appearance and title among the writings of Willard is the Lectures delivered from the year 1687 to the year 1707, monthly; a posthumous publication, edited by Joseph Sewall and Thomas Prince, colleague pastors of the Old South Church in Boston.* Sewall and Prince were classmates, and

* I copy the whole title-page, except a few texts of Scripture annexed: "A compleat Body of Divinity, in two hundred and fifty Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism; wherein the doctrines of the Christian religion are unfolded, their truth confirmed, their excellence displayed, their usefulness improved, contrary errors and vices refuted and exposed, objections answered, controversies settled, cases of conscience resolved, and a great light thereby reflected on the present age. By the Reverend and Learned Samuel Willard, M. A., late Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College in Cambridge,

were graduated in 1707, and therefore spent their four years at College under the presidency of Mr. Willard, who presided that year at Commencement, on the second day of July, for the last time. Mr. Sewall and Mr. Prince were induced, not only by their own high appreciation of the value of the Lectures, but also by the "oft-expressed wish of Clergymen and Laymen to see them in print," to undertake the publication of them. Nearly five hundred subscribers to the work were obtained; many of them subscribing for two copies, and several for a higher number. The editors said that the Lectures "drew many of the most knowing and judicious persons both from town and College, who heard them with so great a relish, that they have, ever since the author's death, been earnestly desirous of their publication; and this desire has, very strangely, rather increased than declined, for these eighteen years, so as hardly any book has been more passionately wished for, till this growing country is now become capable of taking off the impression of so great a work, the largest that ever was printed here, and the first of divinity, in a folio volume." Alas for the wasting of man's works, by that destroyer, Time ! By the

" Moths that through pages eat their way,
And make of all a universal blot."

The rust will at some future time gather on the armor of many a Christian soldier who thinks he has

in New England. Prefaced by the Pastors of the same Church. Boston in New England : Printed by B. Greene and S. Kneeland, for B. Eliot and D. Henchman, and sold at their shops. 1726."

been fighting the good fight of faith. It was less than fourscore years after the *Body of Divinity*, so longed for and so lauded, was exhibited to the public, that my youthful reverence was shocked by hearing this elaborated body of nine hundred and fourteen folio pages, double column, called by a grave divine, "Willard's *Cadaver*"; by hearing my father's learned and pious great-grandfather, who had been in a manner canonized, brought down to the level of common humanity; by hearing that his Body of Divinity, that had been regarded by his contemporaries so "full of light and life," (in which the father thereof, as Sewall and Prince said, "was exceeding careful about the more fundamental points of faith, that so laying them sufficiently deep and firm, neither they nor the superstructures depending upon them may be in danger of shaking, but may remain immovable amidst every wind and tempest,") was defunct.

The radical error in the plan of this Body of Divinity, as the editors called it, consists in its being founded on the Assembly's Catechism. This is made the text, instead of the Bible. The Bible is made subsidiary to the dogmas expressed in the language of fallible men. We need not go back quite a half-century to find that the Assembly's Catechism was regarded, by the concurrence of certain learned men, as the true creed, *in substance* to be enforced by professors and teachers upon catechumens; but the subject has been so variously analyzed, that it must have sorely perplexed the uninitiated to determine which is the genuine and which the spurious result. It would therefore be wise, in those who thus qualify the Catechism as a creed, to place it in

the same category with the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, as articles of peace, and send back the learner, who should be always learning, to his Bible.

There is very little of Biblical criticism, as the term is now understood, in the great work of my revered ancestor; but there is much ingenuity, and great sincerity, which is better, mingled with a good deal of wholesome preaching.

Samuel Willard was Vice-President of Harvard College from September 6, 1701, to September 12, 1707. Before the publication of the Histories of the College, first by Benjamin Peirce, Librarian, and afterwards more fully by Josiah Quincy, President, I was often asked why Samuel Willard, who presided over the College six years, is styled in the Catalogue Vice-President. I was able to answer the question in few words, from my early youth, as I learned the essential facts in the case from President Joseph Willard. But the following summary of proceedings of the General Court give the most important particulars of a long story. Dr. Increase Mather was President from June 11, 1685, to September 6, 1701. For several years before the close of this period he had been often urged to take up his residence at the College, but in vain. Even so early as 1692, the House of Representatives voted "that the President, for the time being, shall reside there, as hath been accustomed in time past"; of which Mather took no notice, for the reason, I suppose, that the vote was not passed in concurrence by the Council. At length, on the 6th of September, 1701, the alternative of his residence there, or of the resignation of the office, was

settled by an imperative vote of the General Court, and, Mather holding fast to his resolution not to remove to Cambridge, the office became vacant. Under these circumstances a President could not with propriety be elected without the condition of residence. The dilemma was foreseen, and a way was opened for escape. On the same day that the office was vacated, Samuel Willard was chosen Vice-President, on the conditions of his own proposing when previously visited by a committee ; namely, that "he would do the best service he could for the College; would visit it once or twice every week, and continue there a night or two, and perform the services there to be done by former Presidents." From all the circumstances of the case it is manifest that strong and prevalent personal feelings brought about this result.

Willard remained in office until a severe illness in August, 1707, from which he did not recover, caused him to resign on the 14th of that month. He died on the 12th of September following.

During his period of service as Vice-President, he was clothed with the same powers and subject to the same duties that pertained to the President's office when filled by Mather, and was indulged with the same immunities of non-residence, and of occasional attendance only, at the College, the privation of which had caused the resignation of his predecessor. We may infer, from his known habits of industry, from his reputation for wisdom and learning, from his tenderness of conscience, and from the fact that no movement was made to choose a President before his office was vacated by his own act, that the expectations entertained, concerning

his fitness for the place, when he was elected, were fully answered.

JOHN WILLARD was the second son of the Vice-President, and the only son from whom male descendants bearing the name of Willard sprung. He was born in Groton, September 8, 1673, and graduated at Harvard College in 1690. Not long after he left College, he travelled abroad for some years, and finally took up his abode at Kingston, in the island of Jamaica, where he engaged in mercantile business, and married a lady by the name of Sherburne. Diligent inquiry having been recently made by one of his descendants concerning him, there remains no probability that the year of his death, or any important particulars concerning his life, can be ascertained. His grandson, Rev. John Willard, of Stafford, Connecticut, said, in a memoir of his progenitors, "he had no post, civil or military, as I can learn, above a majoralty." This, I believe, is the last military distinction in the male line to this day; and now, the clerical vein has also died out, notwithstanding the increased number of the present generation.*

By the same authority I learn that he was not successful in business, and was said to have suffered by the mismanagement of his partner in trade. His widow survived him several years.† Before her

* Rev. Samuel Willard, D. D., of Deerfield, the oldest male survivor of the sixth generation, late pastor of a church in that place, relinquished his charge several years since on account of blindness.

† She survived her son Samuel, minister of Biddeford. Her

decease, William, the younger of her two sons, died. Two daughters survived her, of whom little is known, except that both of them were married to gentlemen residing in Kingston.

SAMUEL WILLARD, the son of John, was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in the year 1705. When he was seven years of age, he was sent by his father "to Boston, to obtain a good school education" in that town. He was offered for admission to Harvard College from the Grammar School, was accepted, and received his degree in the year 1723; after which he returned to his native island, and spent two years with his mother. Before this time expired he was solicited to take orders and officiate in an Episcopal church on the island. But his attachment to the Congregational denomination was such,

grandson, Rev. John Willard, D. D., said: "My grandmother in her will left me seven slaves, six of whom she had hired out to one Mr. Phelps, a rich planter, deemed to be worth seventy thousand pounds. But he was so unjust and cruel to a poor orphan as to refuse to resign them up to a gentleman to whom my mother in my minority gave the power of attorney, nor did he ever allow me anything for their service. A little before I settled in this town [Stafford] I gave a power of attorney to Colonel Henry Vassal, of Cambridge, to recover them. When he arrived at Jamaica, the island was put under military law by the Governor, as he was in expectation of an invasion by the French. During the time in which military law is in force through the island, no civil process can be commenced. Colonel Vassal was able to do no more, before he sailed for New England, than assign the power to his brother-in law, Captain George Ruggles, who resided on the island. Some time after, I saw Captain Ruggles in Boston, who acquainted me that he had not been able to effect anything for my benefit; and so the matter ended."

that he declined the offer. He accordingly returned to New England, taught a school at Lancaster, Massachusetts, for some time, and, after preaching for two or three years, was settled in the ministry at Biddeford in the District of Maine, in the year 1730.

Very soon after his ordination he was married to Abigail Wright, his second-cousin, and daughter of Samuel Wright, Esquire, of Rutland, Massachusetts. From what little is known of him, he seems to have been deeply devoted to the duties of his sacred calling. The tenderness of his conscience was extreme, perhaps bordering on mental disease. After having officiated as pastor of the church for several years, he began to doubt of his thorough conversion to the saving faith and character of a true disciple of Christ, probably not having had that demonstrative evidence of change of heart, which, according to the prevailing notions of his time, must ordinarily be traced to certain sensible experiences, and hence sometimes called *experiencing religion*. It might have been the custom in his, as it was in many churches, for those who were admitted as members, that is, as communicants, to relate their experiences in the congregation; and it might have been that some of these relations in his own church, or elsewhere, were of such an exciting character, as to create a sympathy with what he regarded as a higher tone of feeling, and a deeper degree of self-condemnation, than he could claim for himself, in the past history of the affections of his own heart and soul. The consequence was, that, however tender as well as earnest were his expostulations in the pulpit, and however affectionate his exhortations, his preaching on the sanctions of religion be-

came more frequent and alarming. In 1741, said Rev. John Willard, of Stafford, the son of Samuel, there was a special revival of religion in many towns in New England, and my father was greatly animated in this best of causes.* In October of this year, accompanied by his wife and this son, he journeyed to York, where he preached for Mr. Moody, and thence to Kittery, where "he preached a lecture for Mr. Rogers on Friday, 23d of that month, but was hardly able to finish his discourse, in consequence of a disorder in his throat." Of this disease he died the following Sunday, aged 36.

Samuel was the only son of John who lived to a mature age. Thus, for two generations, the descendants of the Vice-President in the male line consisted of one individual in each. But Samuel, who died at middle age, left three sons, who grew up, were married, lived long, and had each several sons, from whose posterity the name has spread in considerable numbers to different parts of the country.

* It was in the months of September and October, 1740, that the famous preacher, George Whitefield, in his itinerary as a preacher through various places in New England, produced, by his eloquence and fervor and dramatic power, the astonishing effects upon his auditories in the churches and in the fields, reports of which have come down to us in contemporaneous descriptions and traditionary stories. Many clergymen of similar temperament caught a portion of his spirit, and the consequent revivals of religion, as they were then called, and such as have since been so called, spread widely among ministers and people, and doubtless reached some of the more populous towns in Maine.

CHAPTER II.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

Childhood and Youth.—Resolves to study Physic.—Changes his Purpose and prepares for College.—His College Life as an Undergraduate.—Residence at College as a Student of Divinity.—Chosen Butler.—Privileges and Duties of the Office.

JOSEPH WILLARD, the youngest of three sons of Samuel Willard, minister of Biddeford, in the Province of Maine, was born December 29th, 1738, and was less than three years of age when his father died. His mother, Abigail, who survived her husband many years, was a daughter of Samuel Wright, Esq., of Rutland, Massachusetts. The child was born and reared in poverty. His widowed mother was married, two or three years after the death of her first husband, to the Rev. Richard Elvins, of Scarborough, in the same Province. In his early youth, and period of pupilage, and advances to manhood, his opportunities for learning must have been very limited. Still, they were such as excited his desire for acquiring knowledge, which he early manifested, particularly in the study of arithmetic. From this he ascended to higher branches of mathematics, and especially to the science of navigation, of which there is reason to believe that he expected to

make practical use. It should seem that he might have looked forward to a seafaring life; since, after applying himself to this study, he took several coasting voyages. This purpose, however, if he had formed it, must have resulted rather from necessity than from choice; for, about the time that he had reached his majority, he resolved to study medicine. He had previously taught school in Scarborough, and in the neighborhood, and had assisted young seamen in the study of navigation.

During this pause, in an anxious period of life, and looking forward to a permanent occupation, he visited his elder brother John, at Stafford, in Connecticut, who had been ordained as the minister of the people of that wilderness, about two years before. This visit was made partly, no doubt, with a view to consult with his brother, in regard to his intentions respecting the study of the profession he had chosen. He had an interview with Dr. Cobb, of Tolland, who advised him, previously to entering upon his professional study, to acquire some knowledge of the Latin language. This advice might have been intended as a favor, or as a repulse; whether the interview was sought for, or was casual, is a matter of uncertainty. He next journeyed to Rutland, Massachusetts, and there visited his cousin, Dr. John Frink; and in pursuit of his main object, being satisfied with the terms on which the Doctor would receive him as a student, he made up his mind to accept those terms and enter upon the study. But it was otherwise ordered; not in consequence of any fickleness which disposed him to wander from one scheme to another, but from an unforeseen occurrence.

On his return home to Scarborough, he met Mr. Samuel Moody at York, who was the master of a Grammar

School in that place. It is probable that Moody had some previous knowledge of him, at least of his energy of character and perseverance, and knew something of his mental aptitudes. However this may have been, after Willard had given an account of his journey and disclosed his determination to study medicine, Master Moody (by this prænomen he was then and ever after distinguished and widely known) said, in his abrupt and loud schoolmaster style, "Willard, you must go to college." If these had been merely words of hope or promise to the ear, requiring a long waiting to know whether they meant anything more, they would have served rather to depress than to encourage a longing desire. The answer to the noble master, it is hardly necessary to say, was comprised by the modest young man in few words, — "I have not the means."

Though the words of the master might seem too impulsive, their sincerity was soon demonstrated. By his generous efforts a subscription for Willard's board was immediately procured; his master charged him nothing for tuition, offered him as a candidate for admission to Harvard College, in about a year, and by his disinterested services in behalf of his meritorious pupil contributed largely to the success of his application to become a beneficiary scholar.*

* Samuel Moody graduated at Harvard College in the year 1746. His school at York was, I suppose, a private school, or one that allowed him the privilege of taking private pupils. As a teacher of Greek and Latin, his celebrity was such, that, not many years after the time of which I am speaking, he was chosen Principal of the Dummer Academy, at Byfield. Of his modes of teaching and governing his pupils, he was wont to give very

The charity was repaid in the only way expected, namely, by the pupil's diligence in study, and by his good example to his associates. In mathematics, if anything was required with which he was not already familiar, he could acquire it without the aid of a teacher, and with little expense of time. He must have given much attention to the study of Latin and Greek; for if in the knowledge of the Latin language he was excelled by

amusing descriptions, from which it might be inferred that he was not a pattern of patience in the treatment of those who were slow to learn. Some of these he classed among the "ex quovis ligno-s," as he entitled them, being an abbreviation, I suppose, of the proverb, "Non ex quovis ligno Mercurius fit." But his brighter boys, especially when, in after life, they became distinguished men, he was accustomed to laud in grandiloquent terms.

I remember him as a frequent visitor at President Willard's, from my early school-boy days to the time of his death, at the close of the year 1795. He generally arrived late in the afternoon, on horseback, rode into the yard, called for the male servant, gave him directions for the care of his horse, brought his portmanteau into the house, and entered the parlor, as he well knew, a welcome guest. After tea, if he was not disposed to sally forth on a visit to others of his former pupils, he would call for bootjack and slippers, and robe himself in his study-gown and belt; as much as to say, "I'll now have a good, cosey time." If an enterprising fit seized him, he would call upon the Professors, and, if so inclined, summon them to supper at the President's. It is a remarkable fact, that not only the President, but the three academical Professors, Pearson, Webber, and Tappan, who entered upon his office in 1792, had all been his pupils; and being himself a bachelor, he was proud to reckon these, who in their early years had received from him their mental discipline and paternal care, as his children. With like pride he enumerated many others: Theophilus Parsons, Edward Preble (Commodore), and a long catalogue.

any of his class, in that of Greek he excelled all. It is a remarkable fact, that a man, entering college in the twenty-third year of his age, with only one year's preparation, should distinguish himself by pre-eminence among his fellows in a critical and familiar knowledge of these languages. This Willard is said to have done, in Greek particularly, and in the year after he received his bachelor's degree, he was appointed Tutor in the

I heard him relate, with great *gout*, an anecdote of a conflict with Preble, in which both were heroes, though the rightful master acknowledged himself vanquished. Preble was standing by the fire-place or stove of the school-room, in violation of a rule, and was ordered peremptorily to take his seat; but not promptly obeying, the master, provoked by the delay, approached him angrily, seized the shovel, and by his attitude with the weapon threatened to break the boy's head. "But the boy," said Moody, "neither flinched nor winked; he disarmed me; I looked him full in the face and exclaimed, — Preble, you are a hero."

Master Moody had a hearty liking for good, well-prepared viands; which I should not mention except for a particular instance. He was in the habit of attending the College Commencements, and dining in the hall. At one of these annual dinners he was sorely disturbed and scandalized at the poor, mean, and cold provisions on the tables, and left them, accompanied by Professor Pearson, early enough to repair to the President's house in season for the dessert. But his complacency was not immediately restored by the happy faces and inviting fruits before him. He began upon his grievances forthwith, and after exhausting his vocabulary for terms of denunciation of the dinner in the hall, as if in despair of reaching the climax, he called upon Mr. Pearson, as professor of languages, for epithets of execration strong enough to supply his deficiency. Thus happily was restored the suspended hilarity of the family and guests, and the good-nature of Master Moody.

"Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?"

Greek department. It was in this year, 1766, that the different departments of instruction were divided severally among the four Tutors, previously to which time each Tutor conducted the exercises of a single class, through the whole period of four years, in all the studies except those belonging to the Professors. This latter practice continued at Yale College many years after the reform took place at Harvard.

Willard's four years as an undergraduate were passed happily. The kindness and generosity of his friends relieved him from all embarrassing interruptions in his studies, by freeing him from anxiety about his pecuniary affairs. In his Sophomore year he was solicited by Colonel Sparhawk, of Kittery, Maine, to take his son, William Pepperell, who entered college in that year, as a room-mate. It is not improbable that this might have been done at the instance of Master Moody, presuming that young Sparhawk would thus obtain essential benefit from one whose age, character, and scholarship were such as made him able and willing to perform in some degree the duties required of a private tutor and guardian. Whatever the fact may have been in this regard, Willard, by his fidelity to the son, gained the permanent friendship of the father, and experienced his generosity in the time of need. For when the time had nearly arrived for taking his degree, Colonel Sparhawk, being at Cambridge to visit his son, observed to Willard that he must want some pecuniary aid to discharge his bills, and desired him to make an estimate of their amount; which he accordingly did, and Colonel Sparhawk made the necessary advances on receiving his single note. There is no reason to doubt

that a friendly connection continued between Willard and Pepperell after the latter took his degree. Their opportunities favored it. The character of Pepperell was affectionate and morally irreproachable, and Mr. Willard, who had experienced the generosity of the father, would not forget that with his debt of gratitude to the father there was entailed a debt of kindness and friendship to the son.*

* Colonel Sparhawk married the only daughter of Sir William Pepperell, who was created Baronet in the year 1746, the year after the conquest of Louisburg; being the only native of New England, before the war of the Revolution, who received that honor. His only son, Andrew, a graduate of Harvard College in 1743, died 1751. Sir William died in 1759, leaving a very large estate. By his will, after providing for his widow (who survived him thirty years), he bequeathed to his daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Colonel Sparhawk, and to her children; the bulk of his property, and made her second son, William Pepperell, residuary legatee. In compliance with the terms of this will, when William, the legatee, came of age, he procured an act of the Legislature to drop the name of Sparhawk, and assume that of Pepperell. By a subsequent act of the Legislature, he was allowed to take the title of his grandfather, namely, Sir William Pepperell, Baronet. In the catalogue of College graduates, class of 1766, his name is found with the title and date, Baronettus 1774, while his room-mate of the class before, instead of titular honors derived from royalty, stands crowned with those derived from academic and scientific associations. But to the Baronet, and in the same year, 1774, there fell a distinction less high-sounding than that of his titular honor, but fatal to his property and his repose; namely, that of Counsellor by the King's mandamus. The Whigs of Maine would tolerate no such personage, any more than the Whigs of the Bay. The Counsellors of the King's appointment in Middlesex were wise enough to be mute and dormant under the loud denunciation of the county convention. Sir William, on the

Of my father's college life, as an undergraduate, I know of very few particular incidents. He was not accustomed to advert to it in family intercourse; nor do I remember, in the occasional visits at his house made by several of his classmates in the later years of his Presidency, that there was any recurrence in their conversation to what took place at that period. As to myself, my curiosity had not been wakened to interrogate him upon the history of his life, before it suddenly closed.

His class was by no means among the most distinguished by the eminence of its members after they left the college walls. There were few such, compared with the whole number of his class,—a class of fifty-four, exceeding in number that of any class which had been previously graduated.

contrary, not only accepting, but acting under the appointment "with other pretended Counsellors," as alleged against him, brought upon himself the anathema of the men of York, who also, by their resolutions in convention, imprecated upon him the curses "of all good men," and recommended to the good people of the county, that, as soon as the leases made by him to any of them shall expire, they immediately withdraw all dealings from him, and take no further lease or conveyance of his farms, mills, &c., until he shall resign his seat, pretendedly occupied by mandamus. And to make the relation of proprietor and tenant in this case universally odious, the same treatment is recommended to "the good people of the county" to be extended to any others who may become tenants.

Under these circumstances, Sir William took up his residence in Boston, and in the year following, 1775, went to England. In 1778, he was formally proscribed and banished, and his estate confiscated.

It contained thirteen members who became pastors of churches ; one eminent physician, Joseph Orne ; two members of the House of Representatives in Congress, namely, Samuel Hunt and Lemuel Williams ; one centenarian, Ezra Green, who died in 1847 ; Edward Winslow, a Loyalist, who joined the royal army, in Boston, 1775, was proscribed and banished, settled at New Brunswick, sustained several offices, rising to that of Justice of the Supreme Court, and, last of all, Administrator of the Government ; and Joseph Taylor, of the same class, who, it may be presumed, if not the best Latin scholar, was among the few of the most distinguished, and was selected to deliver the funeral oration on the death of the first Hollis Professor of Divinity, Edward Wigglesworth.

The mathematical manuscripts of Willard found among his papers, dated 1765, his Senior year, show by their thoroughness and their neatness his love for the work. They abound in astronomical calculations, which must have occupied much of his time, as they did also in after years.

On the 10th day of January, of the same year, died Edward Wigglesworth, the first Hollis Professor of Divinity, a man universally loved and revered for his social, moral, and religious character and his intellectual qualities, and respected for his eminence in theological learning, and for his candor and liberality in its use in treating of disputed dogmas. He had, for more than forty years, during which he was in office, fulfilled the expectations of Hollis, the founder of the professorship, and of the Corporation of the College, who recommended him to the founder as a suitable person to be nominated

for the office,* and continued to the end in undiminished favor, amidst all the changes in the government of the College.

At the time of Professor Wigglesworth's death, Willard had but a few months more to spend at College before taking his degree. Theology was the study of his choice, preparatory to becoming a candidate for the

* The correspondence of the Corporation with Thomas Hollis in regard to the choice of a Professor of Divinity, was carried on mainly, if not wholly, by Benjamin Colman, minister of Brattle Street Church, and a member of that board. The letters of both, in their correspondence on this subject and others, are like those of the most intimate friends ; and they give ample evidence of sympathy in their views of what charity demands in scanning the Christian character of others, and of what truth demands in contradistinction to bigoted adherence to any existing creeds of human origin.

After the death of Hollis, namely, in the year 1731, Dr. Colman delivered a discourse, occasioned by this event, before the Governor and the General Court, in which, after just praise of the catholic spirit of Hollis, he thus speaks of a circumstance that served to direct his charity and beneficence to Harvard College : —

" To the honor of my country I must add, that it was some account that Mr. Hollis received from us, of the free and catholic air we breathe at our Cambridge, where Protestants of every denomination (it might now be added Catholics and Jews, of each of which we have a precedent) may have their children educated and graduated at our College, if they behave with sobriety and virtue, that took his generous heart, and fixed it on us, and enlarged it to us ; and this shall be with me among his distinguishing praises while we rise up and bless his memory."

It was to Dr. Colman, Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, Henry Flynt, a Tutor in the College, and Leverett, the President, that the College owed its character for liberality, and the judicious choice of Hollis Professor.

sacred ministry, and it was his wish to remain in Cambridge as a resident graduate. Doubtless he had already not only attended the Professor's lectures, but also received from him valuable advice and instruction in private. Cherishing a similar affectionate remembrance of the deceased to that of his elders who belonged to the College Faculty, and of his equals among the sober and thoughtful of his classmates, he was prompted by this feeling to write a poem in memory of his worth, which was published in the Massachusetts Gazette, No. 3179,* and afterwards printed in a pamphlet form, of which a copy was bound up with the Funeral Sermon of Dr. Appleton, the Funeral Oration in Latin by Joseph Taylor, a classmate of Willard, and an obituary notice, published in the Boston Evening Post, No. 1533, also printed afterward in a pamphlet form, and bound with the preceding; forming together a thin volume, which was preserved in the family of the deceased, and is now in Harvard College Library.

Nothing personal appears to have gone ill with Willard during his college life as an undergraduate, except a loss that he sustained by the burning of Harvard Hall in his Junior year, namely, on the night of the 24th of January, 1764. This fire took place during the winter vacation, while the public rooms, the Library, and the room under it, were occupied by the General Court, in consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox in Boston. In the attic of this building were rooms for students, one of which was occupied by Willard. The

* See Appendix, No. I.

occupants were all absent. Willard, on his return, made an inventory of his furniture and books, which is among the records of the General Court, in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The Legislature, at the session next after the conflagration, not only made provision for erecting a new building to supply the place of the old, but made appropriations for the indemnification of those students who had lost books and furniture by the destruction of their rooms in Harvard Hall.

Few evils are unmitigated. This loss of property happened, indeed, while the governors and friends of the College were alarmed by an attempt to obtain a charter for a rival seminary in a remote part of the Province. The story is long, but I shall make it very short. A number of inhabitants in Hampshire, and others in the western parts of Massachusetts, petitioned the General Court for this purpose. The petition was presented first to the Council, and, after full discussion, was rejected. The next day the bill was sent for by the House of Representatives, and passed, partly by means of that parliamentary trick which is sometimes elegantly styled log-rolling; namely, "many members voted for it, relying upon its rejection by the Council, in order to bring the Western members to favor an application, then pending, for building a new hall at Cambridge, for Harvard College." While things were in this state, Governor Bernard had been induced to prepare and sign a charter establishing a college, as prayed for by the Hampshire petitioners. "This step," said Dr. Mayhew, one of the Boston ministers (West Church), in a letter to Thomas Hollis, "has

given an almost universal uneasiness and alarm, not only as we think the scheme itself is of bad tendency, but also because we suppose that the Governor has no such authority as he asserts, and has thus assumed to himself, of granting charters."

The Governor's act becoming known, the Overseers met, and chose a committee to draw up reasons against issuing the charter. "They were drawn up," said Mayhew to Hollis, "by your humble servant, instead of some more capable person; our Governor has returned an answer to them, such as it is. He has, however, promised to suspend said charter, but has intimated that the persons who sued for it will make application at home for another, in which we fear the Governor will give them his countenance. There is, accordingly, a large committee of the Overseers (of which I have the honor to be one) appointed to transmit the reasons against another college to England, and to lodge them in some proper hands to be made use of there, if there should be occasion, to prevent a charter's being obtained from thence."

The "reasons" were stated with good judgment, and argued with great ability, with fearlessness, sincerity, and warmth of feeling, and produced their intended effect. The Governor had been rash, but was not pertinacious, and the whole matter subsided.* The

* In this, as upon another occasion, he seemed by his acquiescence to approve the maxim, that the better part of valor is discretion. An anecdote of him was told to me many years ago, which I suppose is characteristic. One evening, at a period when mob law had become somewhat prevalent, he heard, not

Overseers enjoyed their triumph without boasting of their achievement.

The Governor's conduct after the burning of Harvard Hall was generous and prompt. At the first opportunity of addressing the Legislature, he recommended the adoption of immediate measures for the erecting of a new building. "As this extraordinary event has come while the building was in your immediate occupation, there seems to be an obligation that you should replace it." On the same day, it was resolved by the General Court, that Harvard Hall be rebuilt at the expense of the Province. Strongly was the sympathy of the public drawn to the College. The Corporation and Overseers, by correspondence at home and in England, and by personal efforts, obtained continual contributions of books and philosophical apparatus, and fresh encouragement and increased vigor were breathed into the seminary; and though some valuable books were lost which could not be replaced, a library far superior was soon collected. Thus good came out of evil; not a lisp was heard about another college. All charities for higher learning were wanted for the one already existing, as gifts for its immediate necessities occasioned by present losses, or as reservations to supply past deficiencies, which it had been laboring under from the beginning.

far from his house, riotous noises, and went out, against the remonstrances of his wife, to use his good offices; but, meeting with some rude rebuffs, he returned to his house, and was accosted by his wife,— "Husband, have they beat your brains out?" "No, my dear; if I had had any, I should have taken your advice and stayed at home."

It was a fortunate circumstance for Willard, that, by an appointment which he received to an office in the College immediately after he was graduated, he was able to remain there as a resident graduate and student in divinity, instead of engaging in any temporary business elsewhere. The office was that of Butler, so styled, and the Buttery was in part a sort of appendage to Commons, where the scholars could eke out their short commons with sizings of gingerbread and pastry, or needlessly or injuriously cram themselves to satiety, as they had been accustomed to be crammed at home by their fond mothers. Besides eatables, everything necessary for a student was there sold, and articles used in the play-grounds, as bats, balls, &c.; and, in general, a petty trade with small profits was carried on in stationery and other matters,—in things innocent or suitable for the young customers, and in some things, perhaps, which were not. The Butler had a small salary, and was allowed the service of a Freshman in the Buttery, who was also employed to ring the college bell for prayers, lectures, and recitations, and take some oversight of the public rooms under the Butler's directions. The Buttery was also the office of record of the names of undergraduates, and of the rooms assigned to them in the college buildings; of the dates of temporary leave of absence given to individuals, and of their return; and of fines inflicted by the immediate government for negligence or minor offences. The office was dropped or abolished in the first year of the present century, I believe, long after it ceased to be of use for most of its primary purposes. The area before the entry

doors of the Buttery had become a sort of students' exchange for idle gossip, if nothing worse. The rooms were now redeemed from traffic, and devoted to places of study, and other provision was made for the records which had there been kept. The last person who held the office of Butler was Joseph Chickering, a graduate of 1799.

CHAPTER III.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

Chosen Tutor.—New Arrangement of Duties in the Instruction.

—Continuance in the Office.—Associates in the Office.—Disorders among the Students.—Doings of the Overseers in the Case.—Order restored.—Death of President Holyoke, and Choice of Samuel Locke as his Successor.—Mr. Willard, Member of the Corporation as the Senior Tutor, resigns his Office of Tutor in 1772.—President Locke resigns his Office in 1773.—Dr. Langdon elected to succeed him.

WILLARD, being elected Tutor in 1766, consequently resigned the office of Butler for one more honorable and more to his taste. An appointment to that office so soon after taking the first degree was unprecedented. Of the twenty-three Tutors that precede him in the Catalogue, two only were chosen so early as the third year after they received their bachelor's degree, the remaining twenty-one varying from four to fifteen years' interval. Of the long list of Tutors who follow him, no one was elected to that office the first year after he was graduated, before Dr. Kirkland's accession to the presidency.

I have mentioned, incidentally, that in the year 1766 a change was made in the distribution of the services of the Tutors in respect to the different departments of

instruction. At the annual meeting of the Board of Overseers of the College, on the first Tuesday of May, 1765, a committee was chosen, consisting of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, as chairman, President Holyoke, and other members, "to consider of a more proper distribution of the work or service of the Tutors." At the annual meeting of the year following, the committee reported, that, "for the advancement of learning, it is proposed that one Tutor shall teach Latin; another, Greek; another, Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics; and the other, Natural Philosophy, Geography, Astronomy, and the Elements of the Mathematics." This plan was forthwith adopted, and recommended to the President and Fellows; by whom it was "passed upon and prepared," and carried into effect at the beginning of the term following the winter vacation of January, 1767. This plan has continued essentially the same to the present time, except that the tutorship of Logic, &c. has been superseded by professorships, and the other departments modified and enlarged, in consequence of the increased number of Tutors and Professors, and the greater acquirements demanded for admission to College.

The associates of Willard in the office of Tutor in his first year were BELCHER HANCOCK, THOMAS DANFORTH, and SIMEON HOWARD. HANCOCK had been in office twenty-four years, and, as the Tutors were elected for a term of three years only, he must have already passed through the trial of election eight times; and having been graduated in the year 1727, he must have been at this time nearly sixty years of age, if not more than sixty. It had been intimated to him that he would not again be chosen. His services were at no

time highly appreciated ; but, not willing to be unceremoniously superseded, he made known his wishes to be re-elected, and his determination to resign afterwards. But his determination indeterminate was interpreted by the electors in a sense more restricted than was justified by the issue ; for after being again chosen, he deliberated a whole year before he carried his determination into effect.

HOWARD was seven years before Willard as a graduate of Harvard, and nearly the same number of years older. After preaching for a while, and last in some part of Nova Scotia, while absent from Massachusetts, he returned to his native State, and soon took up his abode at a place whither he was drawn by strong and cherished affections ; namely, Harvard College. The origin, continuance, constancy, and depth of the friendship that subsisted between them I am able to describe in the words of President Willard, uttered when, if it were ever possible, nothing but truth could proceed from his lips ; when earthly ties were severed, and when the hope of a reunion in the world of spirits, founded in Christian faith, that faith which is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen, was the highest consolation of the survivor.*

“ Mr. Howard, after returning to his native State in the summer of the year 1765, took a chamber at College, and became a resident graduate at the time when I received my first degree. As I continued at the College I soon had the happiness of becoming acquainted with him, and of forming those habits of intimacy

* The two short extracts which follow are from the Sermon delivered by President Willard at the funeral of Dr. Howard.

which continued without interruption to the day of his death. At the period I have mentioned, the resident graduates were numerous, and our intercourse with each other frequent; and I recollect with pleasure, that in our social meetings the company of Howard always gave us the sincerest pleasure. There was something in him so amiable, benevolent, and kind, that it was impossible to be acquainted with him and not to love him."

In the year after this intimacy began, they were both elected into the office of Tutor. In this office Howard remained about nine months, and in May, 1767, was ordained as minister of the West Church in Boston, and consequently became a member of the Board of Overseers, as then constituted.

Due respect is next paid to the excellences of Dr. Howard in his parochial, domestic, and social relations, and not least to his fidelity as a Fellow of the Corporation, and member of the Board of Overseers of the College. To this the President added: —

"I shall be indulged a few words to express my personal grief in the removal of Dr. Howard. Connected with him by intimate friendship for many years, I now find one strong cord broken which has bound me to earth.* Faithful was his friendship to me under all circumstances, and I am persuaded that all who have been favored with it can say the same; for unsteadiness and caprice formed no part of his character. In him I could safely confide at all times. To him I could unbosom myself with freedom; for he was sincere and could never deceive."

* Dr. Howard died on the 13th of August, 1804, and President Willard on the 25th of September of the same year.

DANFORTH was a name of great notoriety in Massachusetts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in Church and State. From the very earliest times of the settlement of Cambridge, the name was familiar, and honorably connected with the history of the town, the College, and the Colony. Thomas, of whom I here speak, was the son of Hon. Samuel Danforth, of Cambridge, who was several years President of his Majesty's Council.* In the year 1762,

* He was also Judge of Probate, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Middlesex, and was named as one of the Mandamus Counsellors in the year 1774. As I like to gather up by the way that which relates to persons and things in Cambridge, and is worth recording, I may as well add here, that Joseph Lee of Cambridge also held the same judicial office, and was appointed in the same year, 1774, a Mandamus Counsellor. But the Whigs of Middlesex were too high in the ascendant to tolerate them as functionaries in this office, and even in solemn convention denounced them for accepting it, and "Resolved, that whereas Samuel Danforth and Joseph Lee have accepted commissions under the late act, we therefore look upon them as utterly incapable of holding any office whatsoever." They continued, however, to hold their judicial office until the Revolution, but did not act as Counsellors. They were both graduates of Harvard College, — Danforth in 1715, and died October 2, 1777, — Lee in 1729, and died December 5, 1802.

Thaddeus Mason (who was Clerk of the Courts for Middlesex after they were organized under the Constitution of the State, and who also lived in Cambridge and was graduated at Harvard College in 1728) died the same year, 1802. They survived all the graduates who preceded them, several years.

The houses in which they lived are still standing. President Willard and his family kept up a pleasant acquaintance with them and theirs, and interchanges of visits. I remember going to the house of Judge Lee, in 1798, as a messenger to offer to

being then a member of the Council, he was the first named on a committee appointed by the Legislature to carry into effect a resolution of that body, granting "two thousand pounds towards building a new College at Cambridge, of the dimensions of Massachusetts Hall." The building (Hollis Hall) exceeding the appropriation and estimate, and all the means provided, in the sum of five hundred and thirty pounds, the Legislature immediately made provision for this excess. So highly was then the importance of Harvard College appreciated, that such beneficence could be shown by the government of the Province without a murmur on the part of the people.

Thomas Danforth was a graduate of 1762, a Tutor from 1765 to 1768, and a Fellow of the Corporation

him for signature an address to John Adams, President of the United States, approving his measures relative to the aggressive conduct of the French government. He hesitated, and, speaking of his age, together with an expression of consciousness that his judgment in political as well as other matters was impaired, gently declined adding his name. Probably his surfeit of political animosity, more than twenty years before, had never been forgotten, and his relish for it never returned. The house of Judge Danforth was demolished but a few years since. It appeared to me very old almost seventy years ago, with its projecting second story, and diamond-shaped glass windows set in lead. It became the property of the Judge's daughter Betsy, and, near the close of the last century, the property of Harvard College, by an annuity paid to her in sums of forty pounds. She was then considerably advanced, and her life was prolonged beyond her own expectation or that of the Corporation.

There was another and prior Thomas Danforth, by whose residence in Cambridge, and services in the Province and the College, the town was honored, and the College and the Province

in 1767 – 68. Afterwards he commenced the practice of law at Charlestown. All that I know of him after he left his office at College is this fact, and that upon the breaking out of hostilities with Great Britain he openly (being in this respect the sole individual of his town) joined the Loyalists, was proscribed and banished, went to Halifax in 1776, and died in London in 1825.

In entering upon his new duties, all things must have appeared to Willard auspicious. He was in the sunshine of favor. They who had placed him there had seen in him no spots or blemishes; and transferring him so quickly after the end of his pupilage to the office of Tutor, instead of waiting to see him tried in other walks beyond the classic ground, they imparted confidence to a modest and learned young man, by which the wisdom of

greatly benefited. He came to the Province with his father when he was twelve years of age, in the year 1634. At twenty-eight years of age he became the Treasurer of the College, namely, in 1650, and served in the office until 1668. He was one of the Assistants from 1659 to 1679, and Deputy-Governor in 1679, under Bradstreet, and again, after Andros was deposed, he filled the same station. His services as Treasurer of the College were highly prized, and, generally, his aid in the arrangement of its financial and economical affairs. He was a benefactor to the College, not only by his able performance of these duties, but also by a bequest of the lease of lands in Framingham, lands which were held for fifty years by the College and then sold for a hundred pounds. It is worth adding, as showing the enlargement of his mind, that a condition was annexed to the bequest; namely, "if any prelatical injunction should be imposed on the society," it should revert to his heirs. He died in Cambridge in the year 1699. His only son, Samuel, graduated at Harvard College in 1671, and died in England five years afterwards.

their own judgment was vindicated. After the calm of the first summer of his novitiate there arose a storm, in which he suffered only in common with others, but from which there was no shelter, and which "interrupted the business of the College for more than a month."* It began about the time of the autumnal equinox in 1766. Then, as in after times, the commons were usually the greatest source of complaint and disorder. The stomach rebels against bad or ill-prepared food, and when thus offended produces irritation of mind, which first vents itself in rage against cooks, attendants, and purveyors, and, if that sufficeth not, against their employers. It will not be soothed by words, it waxes stronger by delay, and ceases not until violent but wholesome remedies are applied.

At the meeting of the Overseers on the 7th of October of that year, communications concerning the state of the College and the disorders of the students, and the proceedings of the immediate government thereon, were received by the Board, and it was resolved, "that there had been great neglect in the Steward in the quality of the butter," of which there was just ground of complaint; but "that the act of the students in leaving the hall in a body, and showing contempt of the Tutors, was altogether unwarrantable; that in other respects there had been unlawful combinations, without pretence of grievance in justification; that the President, Professors, and Tutors, in their proceedings, had acted with great tenderness and moderation; that the Board will support and encourage the immediate governors of the College in pre-

* Eliot's Sketch of the History of Harvard College.

venting unlawful combinations; it being the opinion of the Board, that, if in consequence of the punishment of such combinations many persons who are now students should finally leave the College, it will be by far less mischievous to posterity and the future well-being of the College, than to suffer such offences to pass with impunity." It was then "Voted, That the Overseers will be present with the scholars in the chapel, and that his Excellency the Governor [Bernard], be desired to read the resolutions to the scholars, and enforce them in such manner as he shall think proper."

The Board again met by adjournment, October 10th, and it was voted, that "a paper, offered as a confession by certain students calling themselves a committee from the rest, cannot consistently be accepted by the President, Professors, and Tutors"; and that "the Board recommend to them to accept of a full confession* from such of the students as have been concerned in the late disorders as satisfaction for their offences, and if any

* There was a tradition that came down forty-one years from the date of this rebellion of 1766, namely, that a member of the Sophomore Class, who was afterwards a distinguished lawyer, and who had so far anticipated legal maxims, as to learn that nothing in matter of fact could be said to be absolutely known, and be affirmed as testimony, of which the senses had not taken immediate cognizance, when called to the President's to sign the confession, put the pen to paper, and before the President had time to finish the direction to him to read what was written, had affixed his signature, replying courteously to the President, that he could not hesitate to subscribe his name to anything which the President thought proper for him to sign. It was an ingenious interpretation of the legal maxim, whatever might be the fallacy.

should refuse, that such and so many should be punished as the immediate government should judge necessary for restoring and preserving order."

Thus terminated this painful outbreak, and at the meeting of the Overseers, the following May, a favorable report was made in regard to the order of the students, and their attendance on the stated exercises.

But though order was restored, it was not long preserved. In less than a year after this favorable report, namely, April 8th, 1768, at a special meeting of the Overseers in Harvard Hall, "it appeared by a vote of the Corporation, that a combination had been entered into by a great number of students against the government," and, among other outrages, that "on one Saturday night brick-bats were thrown into the windows of Mr. Willard the Tutor's room, endangering the lives of three of the Tutors there assembled, and for this audacious act four students who were discovered to have committed it were expelled." Whether this outrage was intended for Willard especially, or for the body of Tutors assembled in his room, it does not appear. It is not improbable that he was the principal object; for about this time, and probably before this act was committed, he had been marked for resentment in consequence of a false and malignant report of one of the students, that he had been shut up by Willard in his study closet, and kept there fasting through the night. Besides, Willard was then, dating from the time of his entering upon office, either the senior Tutor or the second in seniority, and, the President of the College having become very infirm in health, the government of the students devolved chiefly

on the Tutors. Rev. John Willard, of Stafford, brother of the Tutor, who seems to have been well informed of the state of the College at this time, and who always spoke cautiously, said, in his memoranda, that "it was a troublesome time, and that President Holyoke was much taken off from his labor, which greatly increased that of the immediate government." He added, that "some of Willard's enemies have since confessed their faults." I remember more than fifty years ago seeing among my father's papers, loosely kept in a case of drawers, a letter addressed to him from the person who invented the false report that I have mentioned, (which produced great hostility against Mr. Willard at the time,) in which the author expressed, in terms of deep contrition, his penitence for the offence.

It was during these troubles, I suppose, that I may date the following anecdote, which I heard from good authority. A student who was one of the disaffected resolved, or made a vow, that whenever Willard quitted his office he would give him a flogging. Of course Mr. Willard was ignorant of the matter. But not many years after, this same student was an exemplary parishioner and firm personal friend of Mr. Willard, in Beverly. Calling one day upon his minister, (whether for the express purpose, or otherwise, I am not able to say,) he informed him of the matter of fact, as a case of conscience. Mr. Willard replied to his parishioner, that, if he thought his resolve or vow still binding, it was not too late to fulfil it. But the former thinking they were unequally matched, and that he himself was the less powerful man, relieved his conscience and held himself absolved by his inability to perform his vow.

During the remaining four years of his tutorship I know of nothing that occurred to render his connection with the College unpleasant.

In the same year, 1768, in which the outrages occurred that occasioned the meeting of the Overseers, and at which they expressed their approbation of the proceedings of the immediate government, Mr. Willard was chosen a Fellow of the Corporation, in conformity to the established custom of conferring this dignity upon the senior Tutor. That office expired, as in all like cases, with the close of his Tutorship. The last of the Tutors who was chosen a Fellow of the Corporation was Caleb Gannett, who resigned in 1780. Since that time, two of the Academical Professors have been members of the Corporation by election; namely, Edward Wiggleworth, from the year 1779 to 1792, and Eliphalet Pearson, from 1800 to 1806. Joseph Story had been a member of the Corporation four years before he was chosen Dane Professor of Law, and continued his membership by the wish of the Board. James Walker also had been a member of the Board the same length of time when he was elected Alford Professor, and remained in it for the same reason.

On the first day of June, 1769, died Edward Holyoke, in the eightieth year of his age, and the thirty-second year of his presidency; honored and revered in his life, and in his death lamented. He was succeeded in office by Samuel Locke, on the 21st of March, in the following year. Mr. Willard therefore remained more than two years as a Tutor under his administration, but I do not remember ever to have heard him speak of Mr. Locke. The imputation against him, affecting his moral charac-

ter, occurred more than a year after Mr. Willard's resignation.*

Mr. Willard resigned his office of Tutor in the year 1772. With his three colleagues who remained in this office he had enjoyed the most friendly intercourse. ANDREW ELIOT was graduated in 1762, and chosen a Tutor in 1767, having been Librarian the four years preceding. He was therefore a member of the immediate government during the whole of Mr. Willard's term of office, as a Fellow of the Corporation. JOHN WADSWORTH also was graduated in 1762, was chosen a Tutor in 1770, and died in office, of the small-pox, in 1777. I remember to have heard my father speak of him very affectionately. JOHN MARSH was graduated in 1761, and chosen a Tutor in 1771. In 1773 he resigned, and was ordained as the minister of the Congre-

* There does not appear to have been any inquiry by the Corporation concerning his moral delinquency, or, if any, none that was a matter of record. Mr. Locke's resignation, says Mr. Quincy, in his History of Harvard College, "was sudden and voluntary," and the records of the Corporation "assign no motive and express no regret." The Rev. John Eliot, author of "A Biographical Dictionary," &c., who was graduated in 1772, and had therefore been more than two years under Mr. Locke's presidency when he received his degree, says of President Locke in his biographical notice, that "he was a man of very uncommon powers of mind, a very accomplished preacher, with a most extraordinary gift in prayer." There was considerable delay in fixing upon a successor to President Locke. Before the choice of Samuel Langdon, Rev. John Willard, in his notices of his family connections, said, that "a respectable member of the Overseers observed, that nothing but Willard's youth would have prevented his forwardness to support him for the vacant office of President."

gational Church in Wethersfield, Connecticut. He was, therefore, one year only in office with my father. But he had probably resided previously at College as a preacher ready to officiate wherever he might be called to serve. However this may have been, they became greatly attached to each other, and the friendship they formed was inherited by their children, and exists to this day between those of them who survive. Dr. Marsh outlived his friend seventeen years. He had been accustomed from the early period of his ministry to visit Cambridge and Boston annually, either at the time of the general election in Massachusetts, in May, or at the College Commencement, with his wife or one of his daughters, and continued so to do, with less constancy, for several years after his friend's decease. He died in 1821.

TIMOTHY HILLIARD, a graduate of 1764, was in office as a Tutor during Joseph Willard's term, from 1768 to 1771, when he was called to settle in the ministry over the First Congregational Church in Barnstable. He accepted the call, was ordained April 10th, 1771, with the usual solemnities, and remained there in the ministry twelve years. His health had become so much impaired by the dampness of the sea air, that he was obliged to separate from the people of that parish, and seek another place of service. After an interval of six months, he was installed, October 27th, 1783, colleague of Rev. Dr. Appleton, minister of the First Parish in Cambridge, with which the officers and students of the College continued to unite in public worship in great harmony. He died "on Lord's Day, May 9th, 1790." A sermon, at his funeral, was delivered, May 13th following, by President Willard, and

"printed by the desire of many of his hearers." The sermon contains a full testimony of the excellence of his character as a minister, no less than as a constant personal friend of the author, and as an example of fidelity and beneficent influence in his domestic and social relations.

Mr. Willard's resignation, in 1772, I suppose, took effect at the close of the term ending in October. I have every reason to believe that he left his office respected by his colleagues, by the Corporation and Overseers of the College, and by his pupils.

From the class of undergraduates of which, I suppose, he was the particular Tutor, so called, having a more particular oversight of it than of the other classes, he received, as a token of remembrance and respect, a silver tankard and two silver cans, which remain in the family. The inscription upon them appears to have been written by the receiver, and not by the donors. It is this: "Harvardinatus Anno Domini MDCCLXX. initiatis, tertium sub ejus tutela annum agentibus, hoc poculum acceptum refert Josephus Willard." On the bottom of the vessels is the following inscription: "Josephus Willard Coll: Harv: Tutor Cal: Septembris electus fuit Anno MDCCLXVI."

CHAPTER IV.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

Called to the Ministry in Beverly.—Ordination.—Character of the People.—Occupations.—Professional Men.—Merchants.—Neighboring Congregational Ministers.

ON the 25th of November, 1772, Mr. Willard was ordained “to the pastoral care of the First Church in Beverly, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Joseph Champney,” and the sermon on the occasion was delivered by Andrew Eliot, D. D., pastor of a church in Boston. The charge was given by Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge. Both of these clergymen were members of the Corporation of Harvard College, in which body Mr. Willard had served with them the four years preceding. The preacher, according to a custom not unusual at that period, alluded in the closing part of his sermon to Mr. Willard’s qualifications for the sacred work to which he was called, and addressed him personally, trespassing here and there somewhat upon the charge, but in general pertinently, in consideration of the relations in which he and his younger brother had stood to each other.

“We are called,” he said, “to separate a person to the Christian ministry, whom we have long known and

esteemed; not a novice, who would be in danger of being lifted up with pride or the imaginary dignity of his office; not a man of a doubtful and suspicious character; but one whose ability and integrity have been for many years tried in a difficult and important station, as a Tutor and Fellow of Harvard College.

"We rejoice, dear sir, in the gifts and graces with which the great Head of the Church hath endowed you. We rejoice that you are called to labor in a part of the Lord's vineyard which is likely to be so agreeable to you, and where there is a prospect of extensive usefulness.

"I shall not attempt to give you any particular directions for your conduct in the ministry..... Preach the word, — that word which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament..... You have a peculiar advantage for reading the New Testament in its inspired original, from having been so long employed in teaching the Greek language, in which it was chiefly written. But no critical skill in the Scriptures, no speculative knowledge, will give you equal advantage with the gracious experience of the power of divine truth on your heart."

Soon after the ordination of Mr. Willard, there appeared in the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter a letter addressed to the students of Harvard College, in which the writer seems to have been disposed to contest the parochial claims to the services of the late Tutor, in favor of the paramount academic claims. I here extract a few sentences more laudatory than tasteful, but evidently sincere.

“TO THE STUDENTS OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

“ Young Gentlemen,— I cannot but lament with you the irreparable loss of your late worthy instructor. His consent to resign his tutorship has convinced me * that it was his duty ; otherwise I should call him partial for depriving the sons of Harvard—on whose knowledge and conduct the regularity and happiness of the community greatly depend —of his usefulness, and confining it to the narrow limits of a favorite parish ; though engaged in a work of the greatest moment, and suitably qualified for a master workman in demolishing the works of Satan and building our Redeemer’s kingdom. I hope there may be found one to succeed him in your education whose qualifications may, if possible, be equal to his, who was so well versed in the language which he taught, that, were it not for his correctness and confinement to the grammar rules, it might have been rationally supposed to be his mother tongue, — and that his instructions may be as profitable and pleasing as his who, I presume, was approved by all who consulted their own advantage, or whose approbation would be any honor.

“HARVARDINI ALUMNUS.

“ December 17th, 1772.”

After the ordination of Mr. Willard, Mr. Champney, the senior pastor of the church, performed, I believe, no ministerial service. He was a graduate of Harvard College in the year 1721, was Librarian about one year in 1728, and ordained as minister in Beverly, December 10th, 1729. He died February 23d, 1773,

— less than three months after the ordination of Mr. Willard. The invitation to the latter to take charge of the church and congregation was not unanimous. Among some members there was a distrust of his orthodoxy; not arising, probably, so much from anything that they discovered to be unsound, or anything they found wanting in his sermons, as from a dread of the contagious taint prevalent in Harvard College, corrupting, as they had been made to believe, the immaculate body of sound Calvinism. There was a remarkable variety among the people of the parish, consisting of intelligent and cultivated professional men and merchants, of seafaring men in the merchant service and the fisheries, and of farmers and mechanics. There was no opposition made to his ordination, individual or combined; afterwards, however, “the minority petitioned to be set off as a distinct parish; but, the reasons appearing insufficient,” the request was not granted.*

* History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, by Edwin M. Stone. There was no escape, at that period, from taxation, for the support of a minister within the limits of a congregational parish. Mr. Stone gives an anecdote relating to the suspicions of Mr. Willard's heresy, which is hardly worth quoting except for the moral in its result. “One of his parishioners, not minutely versed in polemics or skilled in technical theology, alarmed at his apprehended unsoundness of opinions, came to him one day, and among other things informed him that he was reported to be a musk-melon! Mr. Willard facetiously replied, that the report could not be true, for if it were, he would have been eaten up a long time before. Some serious explanations followed, and the conversation resulted in making a firm friend of one who was on the point of being settled in opposition.”

Notwithstanding this movement there was no further attempt to divide the parish.

The historian of Beverly speaks of his ministry of nine years as "a peaceful ministry, marked by mutual confidence and affection." The diversity of character and condition of his parishioners must have rendered his parochial intercourse with them, and his preparation for the pulpit, somewhat difficult. His life, from his entrance to College as an undergraduate, and continuance as a resident student of divinity, and a Tutor, making eleven years, a sixth part of his years on earth, having been spent in academical pursuits and scholastic habits, itinerating but little, and therefore having to learn from experience how he might best gain access to the hearts of his people, and influence their lives for their highest good, he was necessarily subjected to a great change in outward circumstances and inward reflections. It was a change in the beginning engrossing all his thoughts, and requiring all his study, and to his new relation these thoughts and this study were successfully devoted. In his public services he made no use of his learning for display, but only as aids for understanding and explaining the Scriptures. His sermons manifested enlarged charity towards the whole Christian brotherhood, "who hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bonds of peace, and in righteousness of life."

The Bible was his daily study, his *vade mecum* as well in the original languages as in the common English translation, particularly of the New Testament. His familiar and critical knowledge of Greek is frequently shown in his sermons, without any vain parade

of learning, by such illustrations of words and phrases as give them significations more definite, more correct and appropriate, and sometimes more comprehensive, than those of the received English text. They were written in a style of great simplicity, perhaps with as much elevation as was consistent with the benefit to be derived from them by the great majority of the congregation. Practical, unadorned, instructive, sincere, earnest, and solemn, they appear to have satisfied the wants and claims of the mass, and to have been approved by the more enlightened. Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, were the prominent doctrines enforced in his discourses from the pulpit, as the strong-hold of piety and the social virtues. The real divinity of Christ and the doctrine of atonement appear to have been held by him, apart from metaphysical subtleties and theories. Towards these he manifested no favor, and was careful to avoid being wise in his reasoning and interpretation above what was written. On the nature and duration of future punishment, while he had a deep sense of the sanctions of the Gospel in regard as well to future punishment as to reward, he was not accustomed to dwell by adding frightful descriptions to the language of the Bible. He was wont to say, without any severity of feeling or manner, in conversation with his friends, that he could find no proofs or encouragements in the Scriptures for a probation beyond this life.

His friendships extended widely among the clergy,—to those who differed from him and from each other on some theological doctrines; friendships cultivated from the times of his early ministry to the close of his life.

They were men who knew how to appreciate each other's excellences and Christian virtues, and were too wise to magnify unduly the importance of opinions, and philosophical speculations in theology on matters doubtful, obscure, or mysterious, while each was aiming to build on the true foundation of which Christ is the chief corner-stone.

In his immediate neighborhood, Mr. Willard was favored in regard to fellow-laborers in the same professional fraternity. In the Second Parish of Beverly, ENOS HITCHCOCK was ordained, the first day of May, 1771. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1767 ; and therefore Mr. Willard must have had some knowledge of him during his four years as an undergraduate, and probably afterwards as a student of divinity at College. Their friendship continued until the death of Dr. Hitchcock in 1803.* He had no children, but his attentions to the children of his friend were such, that they were accustomed to address him (being so allowed or invited) by the affectionate term of Uncle.

In Salem there was THOMAS BARNARD, minister of the

* In the year 1777, Mr. Hitchcock entered the army as chaplain, though he was not dismissed from his parish until 1780. He was at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777 - 78, and described the painful destitution and intense sufferings of the soldiers, in which he shared personally, in some measure, in addition to the sadness of his sympathy for those who suffered more. "Nothing," he said, "could equal the sufferings of the troops, but the unparalleled patience with which they were endured." — Hitchcock's Letters to Captain Batchelder in Stone's History of Beverly. In the summer and autumn of 1779 he was at West Point. On the first day of October, 1783, he was installed as minister of the Congregational Church in Providence, R. I.

First Church, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1732, installed September 17th, 1755, and died the 5th day of August, 1776 ; and his son THOMAS, who was graduated in 1766, ordained as pastor of the North Church, January 13th, 1773, and died in 1814. They were both much respected in their office, and the latter much beloved by all to whom he was known. In a late period of his life, he wore a bishop's hat, not from any prelatical pride, but because he liked the form better than that of the military or the broad-brimmed hat, which would have shocked, at that period, all notions of propriety or respectability.

JOHN PRINCE, who was graduated in 1776, was ordained as successor to Mr. Barnard, of the First Church, November 10th, 1779. He was not only a valuable acquisition to the clerical brotherhood in Salem and the vicinity, but to Mr. Willard, especially, by the cultivation in common with him of natural philosophy and astronomy. Mr. Prince was not only a competent judge of the best instruments necessary for use in the physical sciences, but distinguished for his philosophical invention, and for his improvement of these instruments as a practical mechanic and maker. Still he was not neglectful of his higher duties as a parochial minister and a divine. The unabated affection of his people, which he retained during his ministry of thirty-seven years, is a proof that their claims upon him were not disregarded ; and the theological books, embracing the works of the most distinguished divines, contained in his large and select library, and his knowledge and just appreciation of their respective merits, of which he gave evidence in his conversation, proved that they were not placed there for show.

MANASSEH CUTLER was a graduate of Yale College in 1765. He was ordained as pastor of Ipswich Hamlet, afterward Hamilton, about eight miles from Beverly, several years before Mr. Willard's ordination. He was a man of versatility in his occupations and pursuits. While he performed faithfully his parochial ministrations, public and private, in his small parish, he found time for scientific labors, particularly in botany and astronomy. In the former, he was, I believe, the earliest writer who classified plants, found in New England, to any considerable extent.*

During the first four years of Mr. Jefferson's administration he was a representative in the Congress of the United States from the Essex District, namely, from 1801 to 1805. Not long before the first-named year he became one of a company for the purchase of lands

* Mr. Cutler's work on this subject was published with the papers of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I., 1785, entitled, "An Account of some of the Vegetable Productions naturally growing in this Part of America, botanically arranged," containing a hundred quarto pages. In his preliminary remarks, he speaks of the mistakes in applying the English names of European plants to those of America, some of which are prescribed for medical purposes by names of plants which are entirely different, belonging to other classes and possessing different properties. By the early cultivation of botany in this country, he hoped that these mistakes would be corrected, and that the doubts and disputes that have taken place in old countries would be avoided. He vindicated the science against the charge of being merely speculative; showing, on the contrary, that it leads to practical results and uses in medicine, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Much wisdom and foresight are manifested in his remarks.

in the Ohio Territory. Whether he was the projector of this association or not, I am unable to say; but he was a zealous promoter of it, and one of his sons went thither as a pioneer. It has been said that he journeyed thither himself on horseback, but I cannot vouch for the fact. I remember that my father, and his friend Mr. Hitchcock, at the house of the former, made themselves merry at the expense of their brother Cutler, about the enterprise in this land of promise, alluding to its "cucumber-trees," "custard-trees," "plum-trees," and other spontaneous productions. But if we measure the wisdom of prophecy by its fulfilment, there was no want of sagacity in the adventurers. If they did not realize their expectations, or wholly failed of this, the failure must have been owing to mistakes in matters of detail. Ohio, indeed, was then a wilderness. It had been explored sufficiently, however, for the development of its immense capability for the support of human beings industrious and enterprising; though, by the census of 1800, two years before its admission into the Union, it contained only 42,179 inhabitants. The migratory spirit of New England had not yet been quickened by necessity nor stimulated by curiosity and love of change.

The Hon. Charles W. Upham, Representative of Essex District in the Thirty-third Congress, in his eloquent speech on the Nebraska Bill, after speaking of Nathan Dane, of Beverly, in Essex County, who drafted the famous Ordinance of 1787, prescribing the boundaries of slavery, added the name of Manasseh Cutler, of the same district, "who was in New York when the Ordinance was passed, in attendance upon the old Congress, urging the settlement of the territorial question. He had

before become deeply interested in the settlement of the Northwest Territory. It has been well said, that beneath the shelter of the covered wagon in which he started from his village home in Massachusetts, to found Marietta, the imperial State of Ohio was wrapped up. He was indeed a remarkable man, having adorned, in the course of his extraordinary life, each of the three learned professions. After the establishment of the Constitution, he became a member of this House from the district I represent. As a naturalist and man of general science he has had few superiors in our history. He was truly a philosopher and patriarch. He was more than a statesman,— he was the founder of a State. The sixth section of the Ordinance of 1787 was, I have no doubt, the result, in part, of his exertions, and, as his successor on this floor, I have felt it my duty to explain it in this debate."

JOSEPH SWAIN, minister of Wenham, was a graduate of Harvard College in 1744. He had been in the ministry many years before Mr. Willard's ordination, and continued there in that relation until his death, in 1792. His name was always mentioned with respect.

BENJAMIN WADSWORTH, a graduate of the same College in 1769, was contemporary with Mr. Willard in the ministerial office, in the neighboring town of Danvers, which relation he sustained until his death, in 1726.

Among Mr. Willard's parishioners, as I have before remarked, there were a few men distinguished above the rest, by the advantages of better education and by opportunities for intellectual culture well improved.

Of those who survived to the time of my early remembrance, and years beyond it, there were, of men in mercantile business, George, Andrew, and John Cabot, Moses Brown, Israel Thorndike, and Joseph Lee.

GEORGE CABOT, at eighteen years of age, took the command of a merchant-vessel, and visited various parts of Europe. His previous education and remarkable maturity of intellect made him observant of all he saw, and heard, and read ; and in a few years after his return he became a leading man of his town, in its political action, in regard to the revolutionary movement of Massachusetts, and at the close of the Revolution became one of the most distinguished men in the United States, the bosom friend of Hamilton, and a voluntary co-operator with him in fiscal matters ; whom he sometimes pleasantly called, in allusion to his small bodily stature and vast intellect, Little Alexander the Great.

ANDREW CABOT was the elder brother of George, and for a while was his partner in commercial business. After the dissolution of the partnership he purchased the Lechmere farm in Cambridge, and was said to be the first earnest projector of a bridge in that neighborhood,—which resulted in the building of Charles River Bridge.

JOHN CABOT represented the town one year in the General Court, but afterward declined all political honors.

MOSES BROWN and ISRAEL THORNDIKE were partners in mercantile business for several years, and such was their prosperity that Mr. Brown, when he thought himself rich enough, — a rare example, — with-

drew from the firm, not for the sake of idle leisure, but ready to engage, as he did, in various useful undertakings.

JOSEPH LEE, in his early years, pursued a seafaring life, and afterwards became a merchant and ship-owner, and was for several years partner in foreign trade with George Cabot. "He took an active interest in municipal concerns. He had a turn for mechanics, especially naval architecture, and was constantly employed in devising improvements in ship-building." He was a man of great energy and firmness of purpose, and of large generosity.

JOSEPH ORNE was a college classmate of Mr. Willard, and established himself as a physician in Beverly, in the year 1770. Seven years afterwards he removed to Salem, where he died in 1786, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He had gained great distinction as a practising physician, and as a man of science apart from his profession. My father often spoke of his professional eminence and his companionable virtues.

JOSHUA FISHER removed to Beverly from Salem not long before Dr. Orne's change of abode. He was no less respected than his predecessor, and he acquired equal confidence among the intelligent portion of the inhabitants as a physician. His friendship for Mr. Willard continued, and found opportunities for exercise so long as the latter lived.

NATHAN DANE was born in Ipswich, December 29th, 1752, and graduated in 1778, at Harvard College. After leaving college he went to Beverly, where he taught the Grammar School, and entered on the study of law under the late Judge William Wetmore, then

of Salem. It was at this time that an intimacy began between him and Mr. Willard, which continued without interruption. Many days in after times did I enjoy the quiet hospitality of his house, and his instructive conversation. No one had at command a more familiar knowledge of the civil and political history of the United States, or was more ready to communicate what he knew. In the history of European government, his knowledge and ready memory were alike remarkable. In the same year, 1782, that he was admitted to the bar, he was chosen representative to the General Court, and after serving three years in that capacity he was a delegate in the General Congress from 1785 to 1787 inclusive, where he became immortalized as the author of the well-known ordinance limiting the territorial boundaries of slavery. Of his many public services, of his exemplary, domestic, and social character, of his persevering habits of study, and private as well as public beneficence, a very just, discriminating, and for the space which it occupies a very comprehensive memorial, was communicated, after his decease, 15th March, 1833, by Rev. C. T. Thayer, to the American Jurist and Law Magazine, and published in July, 1835. The same, with some additions, may be found in Stone's History of Beverly.

In addition to the three professional gentlemen last named, Moses Brown was a graduate of Harvard College, -in course, 1768; and George Cabot received the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1779.

There were, doubtless, many excellent men in the parish besides those I have named with whom my father had familiar and agreeable converse during his

ministry ; but as I was not of an age to acquire any personal knowledge of the place or of the people, until more than a dozen years after his removal, I have named two only, Andrew Cabot and Dr. Orne, of whom all my knowledge is derived from others.*

Surrounded as he was by such a body of enlightened and revered clergymen, included within a small circuit, and of so many exemplary and cultivated laymen within the boundaries of his own parish, Mr. Willard, if he had enjoyed the power of choice, could hardly have chosen a situation more suited to his wishes and tastes as a clergyman. Four of those parishioners, in after times, were benefactors of the College, and perhaps it is not a notion too far fetched to suppose that their affection for Mr. Willard, which followed him to Cambridge, and their regard for the institution over which he was placed, always in want of aid, were the early seed, quickened and nurtured by the influence of their own continued prosperity, which produced such beneficent fruits.

Mr. Willard's ministry began in a troubled time of

* There was one man in Beverly, whether a parishioner of Mr. Willard, or not, I am unable to say, and if I was told his name I have forgotten it, in whom there was a remarkable example of good and evil ; of a vow faithfully performed, but not fulfilled according to its probable intention. He had been in the habitual and excessive use of ardent spirits in the middle age of his life, and made a vow of total abstinence from them until he should reach a certain age, many years beyond threescore and ten. He reached the age included in his vow, and returned to his former habit, which increasing as the power of resistance diminished, he died a drunkard.

the Province of Massachusetts, when revolutionary measures were rapidly pressing onwards. It was on the 22d of November, three days before his ordination, that, at a town meeting in Boston, on motion of Samuel Adams, a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, of which James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Joseph Warren were the first named, with instructions "to state the rights of the Colonies, and of the Province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this Province, and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations that have been, or from time to time may be made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject." These instructions were faithfully obeyed and executed, and met a hearty response.

Mr. Willard, though almost a stranger in Beverly, no doubt did all that was proper and becoming in his new relation to encourage a vigorous co-operation with the central committee in Boston; for he was a Whig from the beginning of revolutionary measures to the close of the war by which they were accomplished, and would not fail to aid by encouragement the laying of this keystone to the arch which supported the union of the Colonies. A few years afterwards he was made prominent as a patriotic citizen of the town, by being placed on two committees made necessary for taking measures, according to its share, in its municipal capacity, for the government of Massachusetts, in its change from a Province to an independent State.

On the 22d of May, 1778, "the constitution of gov-

ernment devised by a convention of the State, having been laid before the town for its consideration, it was rejected by a vote of twenty-two to three, and George Cabot, Rev. Joseph Willard, and William Bartlett were appointed a committee to draft instructions to the Representative expressing the reasons of dissent. It is an elaborate and interesting document, evincing a thorough acquaintance with the subject.*

At the town meeting in May, 1780, the State constitution, which had been framed by the convention chosen for the purpose, to which Mr. Cabot was a delegate, "was submitted for consideration, and after having been read and discussed it was referred to Josiah Batchelder, George Cabot, and Rev. Joseph Willard, to revise, examine, and make such remarks on the same as they might think best. At an adjourned meeting the subject

* Stone's History of Beverly. The constitution here spoken of was framed by the General Court, and not by a convention chosen for the specific purpose. This fact occasioned a prejudice against it in many towns. It was, however, discussed in town meetings and rejected on account of its defects, and rejected by a large majority of the people. It had, indeed, been recommended to the towns, by a resolution of the General Court preceding, "to make choice, at their next election of representatives, of men in whose integrity and ability they can place the greatest confidence; and, in addition to the common and ordinary powers of representation, instruct them, with full powers, in one body with the Council, to form such a constitution of government as they shall judge best calculated to promote the happiness of this State."

Mr. Cabot, the first named upon the committee above mentioned, was then only in the twenty-seventh year of his age. The following year, 1779, he was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress.

was further discussed, and the report of the committee, together with sundry proposed amendments and instructions, was adopted by a unanimous vote."

During the war Mr. Willard, in common with other clergymen, and with all who depended for their support on fixed salaries, suffered greatly by the depreciation of the paper currency. Grants were made to him from time to time, intended to keep pace with the depreciation; but this was too rapid to be foreseen and overtaken. In the year 1780 he made a statement on the subject, addressed to the parish, demonstrating the deficiencies of the grants, and showing that, in the half-year preceding, his salary for that term of time had amounted in value only to twenty-seven pounds, while it should have been sixty pounds. The next year, at his request, his salary was fixed on several articles classed among the necessaries of life, to be regulated according to prices every three months, and a house was hired for his occupancy.

This change in affairs was a favorable indication of the affection of the people, and of their disposition to reward the fidelity of their minister, which gave promise of the permanency of the existing relation between them; but it was otherwise ordered. In the year 1781 he was elected President of Harvard College by the unanimous vote of the Corporation, and of the Overseers in concurrence. After duly weighing everything favorable and adverse to this change in his condition, he concluded to accept the office. Absence of nine years from the College where he had resided for eleven years as a student and an officer had not so far weakened his affection that he could fail to yearn for the fellow-

ship of friends he had left there who still survived, and friends added to fill the places of the deceased or retired, who were dear to him. Still there was the pain of leaving, though not losing, friends, worthy, faithful, kind, and generous, in his present place of service,—friends who consented to sacrifice their wishes to his, and to the acknowledged higher claims of the public.

“ November 19th, 1781, he addressed a communication to the parish on the subject, and requested their consent to his dismissal from the pastoral office. The same request had been previously made of the church, which ‘concluded not to act as a separate body, but as a part of the parish.’ This communication was referred to a committee, who reported as follows: ‘That it is with the greatest reluctance we think of consenting to our pastor’s leaving us, with whom we have lived happily for so long a season; and when we think of the difficulties that may attend a re-settlement among us, should he go from us, our minds cannot but be much affected. Yet, when we consider that our pastor is invited to a station of very great importance, and where he may be much more extensively useful to the churches of Christ than if he were to continue to minister to a single church and parish, we fear to withhold our consent lest we should be found to be contending against Providence. We therefore, though with pain, give him up for the sake of the public, and ardently wish, when invested with the President’s office, that he may be a rich blessing to the world.’ This report was accepted, and December 30th, 1781, Mr. Willard publicly took leave of the First Church and congregation in a discourse from

Acts xx. 32: ‘And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.’ Subsequently, on petition, as it appears was customary in such cases, the parish received one hundred pounds from the treasury of the Commonwealth to aid in defraying the expenses of settling another pastor.” *

Few local and incidental events have come to my knowledge relating to Mr. Willard during his residence in Beverly.

The dark day, May 19, 1780, occasioned great terror among many who witnessed it there, as it did in various places. Mr. Stone, in his History of Beverly, relates the following anecdote: “As the darkness came on, Mr. Willard, who possessed some rare instruments, took a station on the Common to make observations, and was soon surrounded by a large number of his parishioners, who gazed on his operations with awe and wonder. Mr. Willard paid no attention to the conjectures and expressions of alarm uttered in his hearing, and calmly pursued his investigations. In the midst of these, a person of excitable temperament came running from the sea-shore, exclaiming, in accents of terror, ‘The tide has done flowing.’ ‘So it has,’ replied Mr. Willard, who, suiting the action to the word, drew out his watch, ‘so it has, for it is just high water.’”

During the war of the Revolution Mr. Willard became temporarily possessed of a valuable addition to his library. “A vessel, in which a part of the library

* Stone’s History of Beverly.

of Dr. Richard Kirwan was shipped for transportation across the Irish Channel, was captured by a privateer, and brought into Beverly and sold. A company of gentlemen, consisting of Rev. Joseph Willard and Dr. Joshua Fisher of Beverly, Rev. John Prince, Mr. S. Barnard, Dr. E. A. Holyoke, and Dr. J. Orne, of Salem, and Rev. M. Cutler of Hamilton, became the purchasers.* Among these books were the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of London, and of the French Academy of Arts and Sciences. The books were kept at the house of Rev. Joseph Willard until he removed to Cambridge, in 1781, and afterwards by Dr. Prince of Salem, until the foundation of the Philosophical Library in that place. Remuneration was proposed to Dr. Kirwan; but he declined it, remarking that the books had found a very good appropriation.†

* Stone's History of Beverly.

† Felt's Annals of Salem.

CHAPTER V.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

One of the Members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences by the Act of Incorporation, 1780.—First Corresponding Secretary.—His Correspondence.—His Papers contributed to the Memoirs.—Vice-President of the Academy.—His Marriage during his Ministry.

IN the year 1780, at the session of the General Court of Massachusetts in May, an act was passed incorporating sixty-two gentlemen, all of whom are named in the act, by the title of “The American Academy of Arts and Sciences.” Mr. Willard was one of these, and there is reason to believe that he was one of the most active in the formation of the society.* He was its first Corresponding Secretary, and communicated the first article published in its Memoirs. This and other articles which he furnished amounted in number of pages to one half of the astronomical and math-

* The last survivor of the incorporated members was David Cobb, of Revolutionary memory, and afterwards a Representative in Congress and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. He died in 1836.

ematical papers, and to one sixth of the entire matter, contained in the first volume. In its purposes the Academy was made very comprehensive by the act of incorporation. "The end and design of the institution of the Academy is to promote and encourage the knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses to which the various natural productions of the country may be applied; to promote and encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments, astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations, and improvement in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people." But the articles in its publications have consisted mainly of astronomical and mathematical communications and physics.

The society was organized soon after the act of incorporation. James Bowdoin was elected President, and Joseph Willard Corresponding Secretary. On the 8th of November, 1780, the President of the Academy was inducted into office, and delivered an address, which was printed in a quarto pamphlet form, entitled "*A Philosophical Discourse, publicly addressed to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*" The first volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy was published in 1785, the fourth year of Mr. Willard's Presidency over Harvard College, when it appears that the office of Vice-President of the Academy had been conferred upon him, in addition to that of Corresponding Secretary. Between the organization of the Academy and its

first published volume, eighteen "European members," and several distinguished men in different States of the Union, had been chosen, who received notice from the Corresponding Secretary.

The first article in the volume, "A Method of finding the Altitude and Longitude of the Nonagesimal Degree of the Ecliptic, &c., by Mr. Willard," he communicated to the Hon. James Bowdoin, President of the Academy, with this preliminary letter :—

"Sir,—As the parallaxes of the planets in latitude and longitude come frequently into use in astronomical calculations, and particularly in deducing the difference of meridians between one place and another from corresponding observations of solar eclipses and occultations of fixed stars by the moon, every method which can be discovered to shorten the work or make it more easy must be of utility. In calculating these parallaxes, it is necessary to find the altitude and longitude of the nonagesimal degree of the ecliptic. As I have given some attention to this subject, I take the liberty, sir, of inclosing to you a paper containing a method of finding these prerequisites different from any that I have happened to meet with, and to me, indeed, taking the whole process together, easier, if not shorter. It is deduced from a projection, which must make the method very obvious to those acquainted with the sphere and with spheric trigonometry. You will find an appendix upon the longitude of Cambridge. If you think proper to communicate the whole to the Academy, you have my consent."

Beyond the formal notifications of the Secretary, and the replies of the elect, a correspondence of some con-

tinuance and considerable interest succeeded, in several instances, between the two parties. It is to be regretted that Mr. Willard did not preserve copies of his own official and private letters ; but from the replies to them, something can be inferred in relation to their contents.

Among the earliest of his foreign correspondents as Secretary was the REV. DR. RICHARD PRICE, of Newington Green, England, distinguished as a divine, a moral and practical philosopher, a statistician, an advocate of civil liberty and religious freedom, and for his calm judgment in the main ; though too much enamored of revolutionary France, until the reaction produced in his feelings by its cruel excesses. Mr. Willard wrote to him on the 2d of February, 1781, as appears by the Doctor's acknowledgment in the following extract from his reply :—

“ I am made very happy by the information, that, in the midst of war, and in the most important struggle that a people were ever engaged in, a new Academy for promoting Arts and Sciences has been established in Boston. In compliance with your desire, I have communicated the incorporating act and list of members to the President and Secretaries of the Royal Society, attended with a letter of my own, stating the contents of your letter to me, and the hopes which the American Academy entertain, that the Royal Society, governed by the neutrality of philosophy, will favor it with its encouragement. I do not yet know certainly what notice will be taken of these communications. The reply that has been reported to me is, that it has not been customary to lay before the Royal Society notices of the institu-

tion of any societies whatever. I am obliged to be cautious in communicating the inaugural oration of your honorable and worthy President, on account of some political passages in it. For my own part, I approve and admire them, and request the favor of you to deliver my best respects to the author."

In the same letter Dr. Price spoke of his work on Life Annuities and Reversionary Payments, of which he was preparing a fourth edition, enlarged, which he promised to send; when published, to the Academy, and which he sent accordingly. He also gave an account of Priestley's labors in the progress of experiments on air.

"No one," he said, in concluding his letter, "can observe with a more earnest attention than I do all that now passes in America. Deliver my respectful compliments to Dr. Chauncy. Dr. Winthrop *was* my correspondent. With pain I reflect that he is no more in this world to promote virtue, liberty, and science."

In answer to Mr. Willard's official letter, in the summer of 1783, announcing to Dr. Price his election as a member of the Academy, he said: "The approbation of me which it implies cannot but give me particular satisfaction, because it gives me reason to hope that my attempts to serve the cause of truth and liberty have been favorably received, and may therefore be of some use. May the American Academy become as distinguished by its improvement in the Arts and Sciences, as the United States are by the blessing of civil and religious liberty."*

* Dr. Price had become extensively known in this country by .

In the same letter he answered Mr. Willard's inquiries about the new planet discovered by Herschel, giving its elements and a brief history of its discoverer; and spoke of the doings of the Royal Society, and of the unprofitable altercations relating to alleged misconduct of its President, Sir Joseph Banks.

In a long letter dated March, 1786, containing, in great part, remarks upon life annuities, and strictures upon certain data of Dr. Wigglesworth concerning this subject, Dr. Price expressed his thanks to Mr. Willard for transmitting "the Catalogue of persons who had received degrees at Harvard College, the Massachu-

his able work, entitled, "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America," which had passed rapidly to the seventh edition, in 1776. It was highly valued by the statesmen and leaders of the Revolution, and other intelligent readers in this country, and not without its influence in his own. For while the British government was industriously circulating a pamphlet in which *these principles* were denounced as "unnatural and wild, incompatible with practice, and the offspring of the distempered imagination of a man biased by party who writes to deceive," the Common Council of the city of London voted their thanks to the author of "those sure principles upon which alone the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain over her Colonies can be justly maintained, and for holding forth those public objects without which it must be totally indifferent to the kingdom who are in or who are out of power." The Council also resolved that "the freedom of the city be presented to Rev. Dr. Price, in a gold box of the value of fifty pounds, as a grateful testimony of the approbation of this Court for his pamphlet, entitled, *Observations*," &c., and "this Court doth desire the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor to provide the gold box on this occasion."

setts Almanac for 1786, and particularly for his Sermon at the ordination of Mr. McKeen in Beverly"; remarking upon this: "Happy would the Christian Church be, were all its members such as it describes. The sentiments in it, and also in Mr. Barnard's Right-Hand of Fellowship, are so correspondent to my own, that it is not possible they should not give me pleasure."

It appears that at this time Mr. Willard regarded an English-Greek Lexicon as a desideratum. "Such an English-Greek Lexicon as you wish for," said his correspondent, "would undoubtedly be useful; but I am afraid it is not likely to be soon undertaken."

"I am not at present sufficiently informed to be able to answer your inquiries relating to Reiske's design to publish all the Greek Orators." *

Mr. Willard presented to Dr. Price the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy soon after its publication, the reception of which was duly acknowledged, with the addition of the following remarks: "Astronomical knowledge in the United States is, I observe, particularly indebted to you, and I heartily wish you all possible success in your endeavors to increase this knowledge, and to promote the interests of literature and science." Dr. Price had previously presented to Mr. Willard his "Review of the Principal

* Ten years before this time Reiske had completed his purpose, by the publication of his work, "Oratores Graeci cum Commentariis Variorum." Leips. 1770 - 5. 12 vols. 8vo. So tardy at that period was literary intercommunication between different European countries.

Questions in Morals," and his volume of "Sermons on the Christian Doctrine," delivered at Hackney. In regard to his Sermons he said: "I cannot hope that you approve some of the sentiments in the first five of these Sermons [containing his Antitrinitarian views of the person of Christ, and of his pre-existence]; but I can safely rely on your candor. My friend, Dr. Priestley, who, you know, is a zealous Socinian, is preparing an answer. But nothing shall engage me in a controversy." In another letter he said of Priestley: "His abilities and ardor as a divine and philosopher are wonderful. In philosophy and politics he and I are perfectly agreed. But in metaphysics and theology we differ much."

The last letter of Dr. Price that I find is dated Hackney, October 10th, 1787. Thither he had recently removed from Newington Green, with some misgiving, overpowered by earnest solicitation to take part of the instruction in the institution just established there. He died in the year 1791. By his letters, from which I have selected a few fragments, some judgment can be formed of the letters of his correspondent. Beginning on the part of the latter by asking a favor in his official capacity as Secretary of the American Academy, the field enlarged, embracing literature and science, and, not least, politics, relating to the war of the Revolution, and its issues present and prospective. In connection with these matters the correspondence grew more and more like that of personal friends, who, having been removed from each other to a distance, substitute their friendly epistles for interviews face to face. It became not only friendly, but affectionate and confiding. Each

introduced to the other his friends crossing the Atlantic, and communicated what he thought would be most interesting to be made known.

DR. PRIESTLEY was also early elected one of the foreign members of the Academy while deeply engaged in his experiments in physics. In reply to the letter giving him notice of his election, he thus apologized for his long delay in acknowledging it, in a letter dated Birmingham, 23d June, 1785 : —

“ Living at a distance from London (at Birmingham), I have not known of proper opportunities of conveying my letter. My friend, Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, going to America very soon, makes it easy for me to do now what ought to have been done long ago.

“ I rejoice that, after so noble and successful a struggle for your liberties, you are now, in time of peace, attending to matters of science. I hope you will have the same success in this way.

“ As you are so obliging as to inquire after my *Observations on Air, &c.*, I shall beg to have the honor of presenting my *five volumes* on that subject to the Academy, and hope that Mr. Vaughan will take care of their conveyance. I am still engaged in the same pursuits.”

At a later period he wrote again to Mr. Willard, trusting in his sympathy with the persecuted Dissenters from the English Church, expressing his own apprehensions that he might be obliged to take refuge in the United States, and giving his preference, in this case, to the neighborhood of the University.

THOMAS BRAND HOLLIS was another Englishman

who was elected a member of the Academy.* Like the first Thomas Hollis, who founded two professorships in Harvard College, and his nephew and heir, the second Thomas, and the son and heir of this nephew, the third Thomas, so also Thomas Brand, the principal devisee of the last named, was filled with the spirit of freedom, civil and religious, as a matter not only of feeling and sentiment, but as an innate principle to be nurtured and cherished. After expressing his grateful sense of the honor conferred upon him, he added in his reply:—

“This ingenuous and new institution gives me uncommon satisfaction, as it will contribute greatly to reinstate your country from the injuries of a wicked and cruel war, and realize an idea which my excellent friend Thomas Hollis threw out in the year 1760, and pressed much to be put in execution; but it was thought that America was not then ripe enough. Happily, time has proved that a magnanimous and free people, even in the midst of calamity and oppression, are equal to any just enterprise.”

Price, Priestley, and Hollis were the only Englishmen chosen into the Academy before the publication of the first volume of its Memoirs. Their views of civil freedom harmonized with the views of the home members, and they cheerfully accepted the offer of fellow-

* Thomas Brand succeeded to the estate of the third and last Thomas Hollis, all of whom bearing this name were generous benefactors of Harvard College. Brand, after the death of Hollis, in 1774, added the name of Hollis to that which he had previously borne.

ship with their American brethren in the culture of liberal arts and sciences.

Four distinguished French gentlemen who were resident in the United States during the years 1781, 1782, and 1783, were elected members of the Academy.

CÆSAR ANNE DE LA LUZERNE, the French Ambassador, in his letter of acceptance as a member of the Academy, addressed to Mr. Willard, dated Philadelphia, 7th March, 1781, said: "I have just received your letter of the 12th of February last, and the discourse at the opening of the Academy, which I have read with great interest. I have no other title to the favor done me by the Academy, than that of my sincere zeal for everything which can contribute to the glory of the American Union, and to the progress of the sciences. The plan of the Academy is well suited to fulfil this object; and one cannot but admire the courage and patriotism and philosophical energy of the inhabitants of your State, who, amidst their honorable efforts to sustain their liberty, find means for the culture of the arts and sciences that contribute so much to the welfare and glory of a free nation." *

M. DE MARBOIS, when he was elected, in March, 1781, was the French Chargé d'Affaires, resident at Philadelphia, and succeeded Luzerne as Ambassador. He replied to the Secretary's letter announcing his election as a member of the Academy in the usual courteous and grateful terms, and added gracefully: "The less I

* This extract, and the extracts that follow from French correspondents, I have thought it best to translate.

am entitled to this distinction, the more I feel the obligation I am under to deserve it."

The MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE was also one of the number elected, while he was in this country; but I do not find any letter from him. He doubtless replied to the Secretary's letter; for he never failed to respond, in the most happy manner, to any act intended to demonstrate the high esteem in which he was held by citizens of the United States, as one of them by adoption.

The MARQUIS DE CHASTELLEUX, who was in this country during the years 1780–82, was a willing and liberal correspondent of Mr. Willard. He was connected with the army as a general officer, and appears to have valued himself about equally as "Militaire François, et citoyen de la république des lettres." The first letter of his that I find addressed to Mr. Willard is dated at Newport, January 25th, 1781. There is no allusion in this, or in several following, to a previous personal interview between them, and the presumption is, not only that this letter was an answer to one previously written to him by Mr. Willard, but that Chastelleux began the correspondence. "You inquire of me," says Chastelleux, "of what society I have the honor to be a member. I answer, with the pride in which every one is indulged who speaks concerning his country, that it is of the Academy first established in Europe, founded under Louis XIII. by Cardinal Richelieu, at a time when universities and professors taught only the dogmas and language of the dead; while Philosophy herself was dead, or rather buried in profound oblivion. The Cardinal, whose ambitious views extended to all objects, wished by means of the Academy to extend the empire

of the French language, to purify and perfect it, to defend good taste against pedantry, to increase erudition, and to establish a kind of literary senate."

The historical sketch is pursued at considerable length by Chastelleux, showing the increasing comprehensiveness of literature, arts, and sciences, embraced in the Academy's plan; its adoption by Louis XIV., who declared himself its *protecteur et premier membre*; its popularization by Colbert, the minister of Louis; and the addition of departments, and classes, under different names, which all combined, said Chastelleux, form the constitution or government of the republic of letters in France.

"To your further inquiry," said Chastelleux, "namely, what are the best works that have been recently published in France, I am almost tempted to reply by saying simply, '*Voltaire est mort.*' But although the sun is set, the sky is not without luminaries. M. de St. Lambert, l'Abbé de Lilles, M. de la Harpe, and M. de Marmontel, still sustain the honor of French poetry. You know, perhaps, the *saisons* and the agreeable *mélanges* of the first of these authors. The second has translated *en vers* the *Georgiques*, which we regard as a *chef-d'œuvre*. Marmontel has published dramas of every kind, that have enriched our theatres and bibliariés,—a philosophical writer as well in prose as in verse. His *Belisarius* and *Contes Nouveaux* are in the hands of all the world. La Harpe is publishing a complete collection of his works." He then proceeds to speak of political, scientific, and philological works recently published or forthcoming; and concludes with saying, "I shall avail myself of your permission to write to you in

French, believing that each of us will express himself more clearly in his own language."

Again, May 31, 1781, he wrote from the same place by Vicomte de Noailles,* in answer to a letter of thanks from Mr. Willard for the information conveyed concerning the learned societies and contemporary authors in France, and expressing the hope of visiting Boston soon. He made a hurried excursion from Newport to Boston in May, 1781, but did not, as I believe, visit Mr. Willard, who was then of Beverly.

His next letter is dated "Au camp d'York le 27. 8 (Oct.), 1781"; in which he acknowledges the receiving of a letter from Mr. Willard dated in the month of August preceding, acquainting him of his election as a member of the Academy, and inclosing letters of the same purport to be sent to France, addressed severally to D'Alembert, De la Lande, and Count de Gebelin. These he promised to commit to the care of Luzerne on his departure for France; and concluded by pleading the pressure of his business as an excuse for the brevity of his letter. A month after, November 23, 1781, he dates a letter at Williamsburg. In this letter he inclosed the "Observations of the Solar Eclipse of October 27, 1780, made at Newport, Rhode Island, by M. de Grandchain," who, he said, is equally distinguished *comme militaire et comme savant*. These Observations,

* Noailles was afterwards with the French army at York, and was appointed by Washington, in October, 1781, a commissioner, with Colonel Laurens, to prepare the particular terms of agreement relating to the capitulation of Cornwallis.

written in French, Mr. Willard translated, and they were inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy, of which body Grandchain was afterwards chosen a member.

The last letter of Chastelleux that I find was also dated at Williamsburg, June 3, 1782, in which he congratulates his correspondent upon his double honors as a leading member of the Academy and the President of the College, and congratulates himself that he is permitted to rejoice in a double title, as citizen of the republic of letters, and member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

With hearty good-will, Chastelleux always responded to the requests of his correspondent, and was useful to Mr. Willard, not only officially, but personally, by the information he imparted, and the services he performed. The sprinklings of vanity which dropped into his literary offerings are not displeasing, and did not ill mingle with them. They seemed to be the counterpart of his benevolence, and to indicate only his willingness frankly to take to himself a due share of praise, which in his turn he bestowed on the deserving with unstinted measure. In his last letter he expressed to Mr. Willard the hope of seeing him before returning to Europe. This hope he was enabled to realize.

From his account of his travels in America, printed in Paris, 1786, entitled, "Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale dans les Années 1780, 1781, et 1782," we learn that he arrived at Boston on the evening of the 14th of November, 1782. "I alighted," he says, "at Mr. Brackett's, the Cromwell's Head, where I dined. After dinner I went to the lodgings prepared for me at Mr. Colson's, a glover in the Main

Street." Immediately he found himself in good company. "As I was dressing to call on the Marquis de Vaudreuil, he called upon me; and after finishing my toilet, we went together to Dr. Cooper's (minister of Brattle Street Church), and thence to the association ball, where I was received by my old acquaintance, Mr. Breck, who was one of the managers. The Marquis opened the ball with Mrs. Temple." Others of his countrymen followed in a minuet, and "did honor to the French nation by their noble and easy manner; but I am sorry to say that the contrast was considerable between them and the Americans, who are in general very awkward, particularly in the minuet." Undoubtedly; but he was polite enough to reserve the remark for insertion in his book printed in Paris.

On the third day after his arrival in Boston, and after a crowd of engagements, he went to Cambridge. "At eleven o'clock I mounted my horse and went to Cambridge to pay a visit to Mr. Willard, the President of the University. My route, though short, it being scarce two leagues from Boston to Cambridge, required me to travel both by sea* and land, and to pass through a battle-field and an intrenched camp."† He then gives a short topographical description of Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester Heights, with relation to the battle of Bunker Hill and the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, and thus excuses this digression: "It is not straying from the temple of the Muses to consider objects which must long continue to constitute their

* Crossing the Charlestown ferry.

† This was seven years after the battle of Bunker Hill.

theme. Cambridge is an asylum worthy of them. It is a little town, inhabited only by students, professors, and the small number of servants and workmen they employ." His description of Harvard Hall and its contents is somewhat exaggerated, favorably. "Mr. Willard, who was just elected President,* is also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, for which he acts as secretary of the foreign correspondence. We had already had some intercourse with each other; but it pleased me to have the opportunity of forming a more particular acquaintance with him. He unites with great understanding and literary acquirements a knowledge of the abstruse sciences, and particularly astronomy. I must here repeat what I have observed elsewhere, that, in comparing our French universities, and our studies in general, with those of the Americans, it would not be for our interest to call for a decision of the question, which of the two nations should be considered as an infant people."

Official letters were written by Mr. Willard on the 25th of August, 1781, to D'Alembert, De la Lande, and Count de Gebelin, and forwarded by the kind agency of Chastelleux, informing them severally of their election as members of the Academy.

D'ALEMBERT, the extraordinary history of whose life seems almost fabulous, accepted with the expression of his grateful acknowledgments the honor conferred upon him, and expressed his disposition to co-operate with the Academy in its objects, but pleaded his impaired

* Between ten and eleven months previously, he entered on the duties of the office.

health and exhaustion by long-continued labors, as precluding almost entirely his mathematical researches. "I have read," he added, "to the Academy of Sciences * of Paris that part of your letter which relates to it, and the desire you express to receive the observations of the eclipse of June 24, 1778. M. de la Lande has taken charge of this, and I doubt not he will perform his promise forthwith, if he has not done it already. D'Alembert died October 29, 1783, less than two years after this letter was dated, being sixty-four years old. Computed by his studies, and various learned works, his life was scores of years longer.

M. DE LA LANDE included in his letter of acceptance "Observations of the Eclipse of June 24, 1778, made at Oxford, Greenwich, and Deptford ; at Paris, Marseilles, and Toulouse ; at Cadiz, and at Stockholm."

He also informed Mr. Willard, Secretary of the American Academy, that he had communicated to the French Academy the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts establishing the former, and spoken of it in the *Journal des Savants* ; and that M. d'Alembert had also imparted it to the Academy, by which the news of an establishment so useful was graciously received ; and that mention would be made of it in the history of the Academy for 1780.

COUNT DE GEBELIN accepted his election as a member of the Academy with an outpouring of gratitude. He had just completed his voluminous work entitled "Monde Primitif, analysé et comparé avec le Monde Moderne," 7 vols., 4to, Paris, 1773 – 81. "The choice

* D'Alembert was then Perpetual Secretary of the Academy.

you have made of me," he said in his letter, dated Paris, January 24, 1782, "is a happy augury for a proposition which I am charged to make to your illustrious Academy. I am the annual president of a Society of Sciences, Letters, and Arts, that we have established in Paris, under the name of Musée de Paris. Our number is about twenty-eight, and among them is one person whom it is sufficient to name in order to praise, — Dr. Franklin. We have twenty-three associates, and as many correspondents, all of Paris. Besides these, we have a number of correspondents in the kingdom, and in different countries of Europe. We should be much pleased to establish between your Academy and our Musée a confederation and intimate correspondence, persuaded that it would be mutually beneficial. I venture, therefore, to ask you to sound your colleagues, and say to them how much we should be gratified if this idea should not be foreign to their plan, and if they should find the proposal worthy of being entertained. Dr. Franklin has promised to speak to you on the subject, but it may be that his constant occupation has caused him to forget it."

PETRO WARGENTIN, Perpetual Secretary of the Royal Society of Stockholm, acknowledged the reception of the letter informing him of his election as a member of the American Academy. His letter of acceptance was written in Latin, as was probably that to which it is a reply.

The salutation and valediction of Wargentin are more lofty than such as English ears are accustomed to: "Domine nobilissime atque doctissime." "Vale, vir nobilissime, et fave clarissimi nominis tui cultori obser-

vantissimo et studiosissimo PETRO WARGENTIN, *Acad. Reg. Stockholmensis Secretario.*"

He said that the Royal Society of Stockholm greatly rejoiced with him that peace was so far restored, in America, that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts could turn its attention to the arts and sciences, and doubted not, that, among these, natural history would be enriched by new discoveries in a country so extensive and so little explored.

"Dextram dat Academia R. Stockholmensis, fide pollicendo, se novam sororem semper sororio affectu amplexuram, et quibus poterit officiis reciprocum amorem demererri studebit."

"Several Fellows of the Academy of Stockholm," said Wargentin, (if I may be allowed to make the Secretary speak again in English,) "are desirous of entering into a correspondence with the American Academy; especially Samuel Gustavus Hermelin, a very distinguished chemist and mineralogist, and Petrus Jonas Bergius, a celebrated botanist, offer their services." These gentlemen were elected members of the American Academy.

LEONARDUS EULER, of the Imperial Academy of Petersburg, replied to the official letter of Mr. Willard, communicating his election as a member of the Academy, in the year 1782. Mr. Willard's letter to Euler was forwarded by Wargentin, who received it inclosed in his own, not until nearly a year after it was sent. Euler acknowledged gratefully the honor conferred upon him, but on account of the remoteness of the places and the burden of years (being then seventy-five years of age) he said he could contribute nothing

to the glory of the institution. He died the year following.

JEAURAT, in a letter dated September 8, 1782, "À l'Observatoire Royale de Paris," expressed his grateful acknowledgments for the honor conferred upon him by the American Academy, and sent to the society a copy of the memoir, printed among those of the Royal Academy of Paris, containing a tribute of praise bestowed on himself, and remarking that it is very flattering to him to enter into this new relation, under such favorable auspices. In a second letter, 29th August, 1783, addressed to Mr. Willard, personally, M. Jeaurat congratulates him on the return of peace, when their correspondence can be conducted securely, and he can enjoy with Mr. Willard the relation of *savant*, which draws men so strongly together. He expressed his thanks to Mr. Willard for sending him the true meridian between Paris and Cambridge and Boston, saying that he should make use of it in perfecting his nautical almanac. He inclosed in the letter his observations of the transit of Mercury, made at Paris, 12th November, 1782, thinking that, if the time was as favorable at Cambridge for observations as it was at Paris, they might be acceptable. In a third letter he spoke of his work in hand, and reiterates his acknowledgments to Mr. Willard, whose minutes and results he regarded as a sure guaranty of the truth in the matter of inquiry.

Most of the letters from which I have taken these few extracts were occasioned by the communication made by Mr. Willard to the writers, as the Corresponding Secretary of the Academy, of their election as members.

The replies were uniformly respectful, always courteous, and in some instances more flattering than was to be expected, in absence of any proofs given, by the scientific contributions of its home members, of the value of their labors. Almost invariably there were contained in these replies hearty congratulations on the result of the long struggle of the United Colonies in securing their independence, and free constitutions of government, predicting great progress in the arts and sciences, the cultivation of which had been courageously projected by the Academy before the close of the sanguinary civil war.

The first volume of the Memoirs, published in 1785, was, I suppose, considered by those who are competent to judge of its merits a successful beginning. The first part of the second volume, 1793, contained an article which occasioned no little mortification to some members of the Academy, namely, the article entitled, "Geometrical Methods of finding any required Series of Mean Proportionals between given Extremes, by James Winthrop, Esq., F. A. A." It was to be expected that, in mathematical problems, wherein something is proposed to be done, the demonstration would be perfect; since defects and fallacies and errors of all kinds are fatal to the undertaking. For speculative reasoning there is no room. The thing proposed to be done is or is not done. The fatal error in this article, probably, was not discovered until it was printed; but probably was discovered before the volume containing it was published,—discovered not by the author, but by some other member of the Academy. Had it been detected before it was printed, kindness for the author,

and regard to the reputation of the Academy, would have required that the error should have been made known to him. He would not have persisted in it, and would thus have saved the society from censure.*

This matter became a subject of remark as soon as it appeared by its publication in the Memoirs, if not before ; and more than once I heard Wr. Willard speak of it with much regret. Four years afterwards he received the following letter from the late Dr. Bowditch, rather incidentally, and containing a paper on another subject, which the author deemed of personal importance.

“Salem, August 28, 1797.

“REVEREND SIR,— Although personally unacquainted with you, I take the liberty of offering for your perusal

* If the conjecture that I have thus hazarded above is well founded, it will account for the “Advertisement” prefixed to the volume ; in which Advertisement the “committee to whom the selection of papers was intrusted” said : “The reader will remember that the society is not responsible for any communications which may be selected and published. They must stand or fall by their own merits. The mathematician must answer for his own reasonings, the philosopher for his experiments, and the theorist for his conjectures.” It was due to the society from the committee thus directly to exonerate it from blame, and pardonable in them to justify themselves indirectly for what was probably an oversight in the “selection intrusted to them.” A responsibility, however, of some kind must exist somewhere, in some persons, and to some extent, in a publication of various scientific and literary articles. A random selection is a contradiction in terms; and, to my understanding, the committee in their advertisement paraphrased and interpreted the statute of the Academy, which is contained in three lines, in a manner, and

the inclosed paper, which contains a method of clearing the distance of the moon from the sun or a star from the effects of parallax and refraction. It differs from any that I have ever seen published, and by it are avoided the multiplicity of cases so common in other rules.

"The other paper, which contains some strictures on Mr. Winthrop's and Dr. Tenny's pieces in Volume II. of the Memoirs of the Academy, was written by me just after their publication,* and has been in the hands of Dr. Prince. I should not at this time have brought it forward, had not Mr. Winthrop, when in Salem, about a fortnight ago, publicly asserted that his demonstration was just, and that he had fully confirmed it, in a late communication to the Academy. I have only shown his error in one case; but the method of demon-

with a latitude, and a looseness, and a perversion, to which it is not fairly exposed. The statute reads thus: "*Of Proceedings on Literary Performances.*—The Academy will never give their judgment or opinion upon any literary performance presented to them, but allow it to rest upon its own merits, and the credit of its author." Accordingly, the papers that were presented to the Academy at their meetings were read or announced, and, without discussing their merits, were handed over to a publishing committee with discretionary power. Arts and Sciences were terms used in a very comprehensive sense, in regard to the objects enumerated in their charter; and on many subjects depending on observation or experiment, the committee might differ from the writers, or from each other; but errors in what claim to be mathematical demonstrations, vicious in the reasoning and false in the results, and therefore *nihilities*, no learned committee would, knowing them to be such, impose upon their readers.

* He was then twenty years of age.

strating being nearly the same, the error in the other cases may be easily proved.

"I should be glad of your opinion on these papers, particularly the first. If you will oblige me with a line on the subject, I should esteem it as a great favor.*

"I am, &c.,

"NATHANIEL BOWDITCH *of Salem.*"

The circumstances that have thus associated the name of Mr. Bowditch with that of Mr. Willard bring to my mind another circumstance connected with a fact which I have mentioned before. The library of which Dr. Richard Kirwan was robbed by an American pri-

* The letter of Mr. Bowditch was a modest introduction of himself, and a pleasing mark of respect to an elder, whom he regarded as one among the few eminent mathematicians in New England. That he considered Mr. Willard entitled to this distinction I know from his voluntary declaration to me, many years afterwards. When he wrote to Dr. Willard he was twenty-four years of age; and though well known in Salem for his extraordinary acquirements in mathematics, and by the triumphs of his genius, his energy and perseverance under difficulties, during fragments of time redeemed from unlike labors, and unaided by instruction except such as he derived from books, his fame had not spread widely.

It was during an interval between two foreign voyages that he communicated to Mr. Willard for his judgment, not for publication, the two papers mentioned above. Not long afterwards he was nominated as a member of the Academy, and was chosen at the meeting in May, 1799, at an age at which no one, even under the most favorable circumstances of education and profession, had before obtained the like honor.

Mr. Bowditch, after he became a member of the Academy, communicated twenty-three articles, which were inserted in successive

vateer (an act of piracy in all but the name, changed, by a legal artifice of governments, in defiance of all moral distinctions) came first into the possession of Mr. Willard. It was a scientific library mainly, of which he enjoyed the use at his own house, for a year or more before he left Beverly. After his removal, it was committed to the care of Dr. Prince of Salem, at the beginning of the year 1782. It was probably soon after this that young Bowditch began to be indulged in the use of it by its kind-hearted keeper, and continued to enjoy the use, when it became the basis of a larger library, with an increased number of proprietors. From the Transactions of the Royal Society of London contained in this library he copied, as we are told by his

volumes, and among them the one that he had requested Mr. Willard to examine, with a verbal change in the title, which was this: "Method of correcting the Apparent Distance of the Moon from the Sun or a Star, for the Effects of Parallax and Refraction." It was first printed in the Practical Navigator, it may be with some modification of the original paper, and "making all the corrections in question additive."

At the exercises of the Commencement at Harvard College, 1802, President Willard *pro auctoritate* conferred on Mr. Bowditch the degree of Master of Arts; on which occasion the latter happened to be present. "Among the honorary degrees," says his biographer, "he thought he heard his own name announced as Master of Arts; but it was not until congratulated by a townsman and friend that he became satisfied that his senses had not deceived him. He always spoke of this as one of the proudest days of his life; and amid all the subsequent proofs which he received of the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the distinctions conferred upon him from foreign countries, he recurred to this with the greatest pleasure." Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., by his Son, Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch.

biographer, all the mathematical papers, and extracts from various encyclopædias, and from the Memoirs of the Academy of Paris; the whole of Emerson's Mechanics and of Hamilton's Conics; and extracts from various other mathematical and philosophical works "contained in more than twenty folio and quarto commonplace books and other volumes." If these facts became known to Dr. Kirwan before remuneration offered for the books was declined by him, he might well express his satisfaction that they had found so useful a destination; if afterwards, he might well rejoice that his judgment had been confirmed.

According to the author's request, Dr. Willard doubtless examined the papers sent him by Dr. Bowditch. In due time the papers, I suppose, were returned, with the opinion of Mr. Willard; but not until he had communicated to Mr. Winthrop the "strictures" of his correspondent. The letter of Mr. Bowditch, which is among the private papers of Mr. Willard, is followed by another paper, entitled, "Mr. Winthrop's Remarks," which are introduced thus: "The author of the mathematical papers objected to by Mr. Bowditch has read his remarks with attention, and is gratified to find the objection stated at length by the inventor of it, as it satisfies him that the verbal statement to which an answer was rendered to the Academy, some time ago, was a fair one, and of course, if that was answered, this was involved in the answer." Then the *Remarks* course round the subject, and the author having before been, as he said, "embarrassed in trying to find out where the difficulty of the objectors lay, until a friend pointed it out to him," he sat down to state upon paper the sub-

ordinate ideas by which this reasoning was connected. It appeared to him to be conclusive, and therefore, instead of letting the question sleep, the more ample statement was rendered in." It is this statement, I suppose, that Mr. Bowditch alluded to, which was cited by Mr. Winthrop at Salem as confirming his demonstration. Thus ended the matter between these parties, but in the second part of the same volume of the Memoirs was published an article entitled, "Remarks on Mr. Winthrop's Geometrical Methods, &c., by George Baron, late Master of the Mathematical Academy of South Shields in the County of Durham."

Of Problem II., to find two mean proportionals between two given extremes, Mr. Baron says: "On the truth of this problem, the two remaining problems, together with Mr. W.'s duplication of the cube, entirely depend. I shall therefore describe Mr. W.'s method, &c. Secondly, show that the demonstration is not true. Thirdly, I shall demonstrate that that method is universally false. Hence it will follow that Mr. W.'s duplication of the cube is universally false." This was done; done by a stranger,—which was well. The production of Mr. Winthrop was indeed long before doomed, and might have died of inherent infirmities and neglect; yet the hand of a public executioner seemed most fitting. No *confrère* would covet the office.

Mr. Willard's contributions to the Memoirs of the American Academy were as follows.

In the first volume, published in 1785,—

I. A Method of finding the Altitude and Longitude of the Nonagesimal Degree of the Ecliptic; with an Appendix containing Calculations from Corresponding

Astronomical Observatories for determining the Difference of Meridian between Harvard Hall in the University of Cambridge, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Royal Observatories of Greenwich and Paris. 51 pages.

II. A Table of the Equations to Equal Altitudes for the Latitude of the University of Cambridge, $42^{\circ} 23' 28''$ North, with an Account of its Construction and Use. 11 pages.

III. A Memoir, containing Observations of a Solar Eclipse, October 27, 1780, made at Beverly; also of a Lunar Eclipse, March 29, 1782; of a Solar Eclipse, April 12; and of the Transit of Mercury, November 12, the same year, made at the President's House in Cambridge. 15 pages.

IV. Observations made at Beverly, Lat. $42^{\circ} 36'$ North, Long. $40^{\circ} 45'$ West, to determine the Variation of the Magnetical Needle. 4 pages.

Also, a Translation from the French of M. Grandchain's Observations of the Solar Eclipse of the 27th of October, 1780, made at Newport, Rhode Island.

In the second volume, first part, published in 1793,—
Observations of the Transit of Mercury over the Sun's Disc, November 5, 1789.

This is a very elaborate article of fourteen pages. In a preliminary paragraph the author says: "The circumstances attending the transit of Mercury, November 12, 1782, were more favorable in North America than in Europe. The altitude of the sun was much greater at the beginning of the transit, and the whole was visible to us; whereas the sun set in Europe before the two last contacts happened. But Mercury's latitude was

then so great, that the times of the contacts could by no means be determined with that precision as when the latitude is small. For this reason the transit of November 5th, this year, became more peculiarly interesting ; and it was of more importance that it should be observed in America, as the whole was visible to us, which it was not to the Europeans."

Concerning Mr. Willard's connection with the American Academy, his original membership, his probably active agency in giving an early impulse to its movements, his official relation to it, as the first Corresponding Secretary, and afterwards Vice-President, and the valuable contributions he made to its Memoirs, I have said all, and much more than all, I meant to say. These all had their beginning while he was the minister of the first parish in Beverly ; but his official relations to the Academy were of course no compliment to his clerical office, for this he sustained among a multitude of the same calling ; and, as such, having no claim to a selection for this distinction from their own number.

Of Mr. Willard's domestic condition during his ministry of nine years, I have said nothing. But it is not to be supposed that, by having espoused the Church, his pastoral care engrossed all his time and all his affections in watching his flock. He soon provided a home which he could call his own,— a home personal and permanent, to be shared by another ; by such a one only as could make it worth possessing ; the abode of domestic love, apostrophized by Cowper, too exclusively, perhaps, as

"The only bliss that has survived the fall."

It was on the 7th of March, 1774, in the sixteenth month after his ordination, that he was married to Mary Sheafe, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, she being in the twenty-first year of her age, and he in his thirty-sixth. She was the fourth of five daughters of Jacob Sheafe, Esq., a merchant of that town, who had also five sons then living, of whom the third, James, was graduated that same year at Harvard College. They were all married, either before or after the wedding day of Mary; the five sons, and three of the daughters, with their husbands, having their permanent abode at Portsmouth, all of them surviving and having children, who survived their patriarch, Jacob. He was accounted a wealthy man, according to the estimation of wealth in his time. Uncommon sagacity and strict integrity as a merchant and a citizen were among the prominent virtues coupled with his name. Well and kindly did he rule his household, and all his sons, who in due time entered upon mercantile pursuits, had the benefit of his early advice and training.

Of my father and mother as parents, of what they were to me and all their children, I shall have something to say in the sequel, when I reach a period at which I can speak with knowledge derived from experience and observation. Thence, perchance, while trying to live over again the days of youth, a buried memory may here and there arise, such as

“ Sometimes leaps-
From hiding-places.”

CHAPTER VI.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

His Presidency.—Election and Inauguration.—Previous Condition of the College.—Embarrassment of its Funds.—Personal Circumstances favorable to his Success compared with those of his Predecessor.—Payment of Salaries of President and Professors difficult.—President remonstrates.—General Court withhold their Patronage.—Final Success in establishing the Funds.

THE office of President of Harvard College became vacant by the resignation of Dr. Samuel Langdon, on the 30th of August, 1780, and more than a year elapsed before a successor was chosen to supply the vacancy. Joseph Willard, minister of the first parish in Beverly, was elected President by the Corporation in the year 1781, and was approved by the Overseers. He was inaugurated on the 19th of December of the same year. The embarrassed condition of the College funds continued to occasion, as it had long before occasioned, great anxiety to the Corporation, and constant exertions for relief. John Hancock who had been Treasurer from July 27th, 1773, until he was superseded, July, 1777, by the choice of Ebenezer Storer, seemed to consider himself as belonging to the whole country, and thence absolved from all minor concerns, so that these must

wait his time, and would neither resign his trust as Treasurer, nor enlighten the Corporation on the state of his accounts. All delicate hints about the resignation of his office, and all importunities to learn from him the condition of the funds, were alike unheeded. After a successor was appointed, matters were little better. Year after year, Mr. Storer, aided by the Corporation and Overseers, could obtain no settlement from Mr. Hancock, and no access to his accounts. Much better, indeed perfect, were the records of all the current business of the treasury in the hands of Mr. Storer. Not by all the urging, coaxing, apologizing, flattering, and cringing of the Corporation and Overseers in their votes, nor by the importunities of his successor in office, could the great patriot be allured, won, or shamed into a compliance with their wishes and requests. Silence or evasion, broken promises and promises partially fulfilled, were the order of the effects produced, and it was not until February, in the year 1785, that Mr. Storer could report that he had ascertained the balance due from his predecessor, but not paid. The balance was one thousand and fifty-four pounds. The Corporation, after waiting seven months for payment of this balance, voted, that, if it were not paid within a given time, a suit should be commenced. This measure drew from Mr. Hancock a bond with security ; but notwithstanding the money was wanted, and sought with the same combined energies and courtesies and entreaties of the Corporation and Treasurer as had been tried in the case of the settlement of the accounts, nothing was paid by Governor Hancock in his lifetime. He died in 1793. Afterwards the balance was paid by his heirs ; who, by

refusing to pay compound interest, occasioned a loss to the College of five hundred and twenty-six dollars.* Add to all this the revolutionary measures of the country, followed by the war of the Revolution, and consequent disturbance and final worthlessness of the legalized paper currency; † the expulsion of the faculty and students of the College to Concord, that continued more than a year; the removal of the library and apparatus to Andover and Concord, the occupation of the College buildings by the American troops, thereby greatly damaged,‡ and the rent lost, besides the expense incurred by removal; and, finally, the revolutionary spirit entering into the youth of the seminary, reversing the orders of duties, and inspiring pupils with the notion that they have a right to remove their masters,— and it may be readily perceived that the College was in a deplorable condition when the President's office became vacant.

Laboring under these difficulties, the Corporation did not think it safe or honest to choose a President, without an attempt to procure a provision from the General Court for a permanent salary for the office. It had

* Quincy's History of Harvard University, where all the details of this hide-and-seek may be found.

† The funds of the Collège were reduced three fifths at the time of the greatest depreciation of paper currency; and to avoid bankruptcy, the charges on the students were increased, and the receipts vested in Continental and State certificates, to await the uncertain time of payment.

‡ The damage amounted to £ 448; which was allowed by the Legislature, and nominally paid, but by depreciation amounted only to one quarter part of this sum.

been the usage of this body to make annual grants for the office. These grants had been the main dependence for its support, and indeed were indispensable to its existence. But now the government of the Commonwealth had become established, and duly organized under a constitution formed by the people. Like wise men, as they were, the Corporation determined to find out whether the Legislature would be faithful and true to the requirements of the Constitution, which made it a special part of its duty to cherish the University. A petition was accordingly presented to the General Court by the Fellows of the Corporation, at the January session, 1781, "praying that a permanent and adequate salary might be annexed to the office of President," representing in strong terms the importance of the measure, that they may be enabled satisfactorily to fill the vacancy that then existed. "The memorial," says Mr. Quincy, "received no countenance; it suited the policy of that body to keep the President of the College dependent. Even then a party began to appear prepared to put an end to all grants for his support, and in a few years their efforts were successful. Finding the attempt to obtain a permanent salary hopeless, the Corporation proceeded to elect the Rev. Joseph Willard President, and to place him, like his predecessors, in a state of dependence on the good-will of the Legislature."

"The Overseers, after approving the election, prayed the General Court 'to make provision for the honorable support of the President.' A grant of 'three hundred pounds, specie,' for his first year's service, and for removing his family to Cambridge, was the consequence of this application."

From the immediate transition with which Mr. Quincy passes from the account of the embarrassment of the Corporation owing to the state of the College funds, which was an obstacle to the election of a President, and of the disappointment of the board in their endeavors to overcome or remove it, to the choice at once made of Mr. Willard to fill the place, notwithstanding these hopeless efforts for permanent provision for his support, it may reasonably be inferred that the delay of the choice was occasioned by the alarming condition of the financial affairs of the institution ; that there was no struggle among the Fellows in selecting one from rival competitors ; but, on the contrary, that they had in view one man, marked for the office by energy and learning, by his happy and equitable temperament, by his experience, not forgotten, in the art of teaching, and by his success, still remembered, in the discipline of youthful students. So it appears ; and it may be inferred that the Fellows proceeded to the choice without hesitation or doubt, under the conviction that he was a man, among men obtainable, the best suited to the place, — *virum res illa quærebat.*

Indeed, Mr. Willard came into the office of President under personal advantages altogether in contrast with the personal disadvantages of his predecessor; I mean, those circumstances, personal and incidental, in years previous to their respective entrance on the office, which tended to affect the aptitude of each, whatever this might have been naturally, for such a trying station.

I gather from the brief notice of SAMUEL LANGDON in Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, that he was born in Boston, of obscure but respectable parentage ; that he

was distinguished as a scholar in the North Grammar School ; that by his acquirements and demeanor he made friends who assisted him in obtaining his college education ; that after receiving his degree, 1740, he became the master of the Grammar School in Portsmouth, N. H., and that in the year 1747 he was ordained as pastor of the North Church in that town. This office, therefore, he had filled twenty-seven years, and thirty-four years had elapsed since the year in which he took his Bachelor's degree, when he was invited to preside over Harvard College ; having in all this time lived in another State of the confederacy, and never sustained any official connection with the College, and therefore having everything to learn in regard to its modes of instruction and government. The experiment certainly was very hazardous. Respectable talents and considerable learning, were attributed to him, no doubt deservedly ; but at an age like his, of more than fifty years, a very remarkable versatility in the appliances of talents and learning, in a position so novel as this was to him, is imperiously demanded,—such as might make the most resolute and the most distinguished men in professional life distrustful of their ability to meet its requirements. Then, too, he had probably enjoyed little intercourse with men of various learning, and came to his new duties a stranger to those with whom he was to act as principal.

The reverse of these discouraging, and, except in persons of very extraordinary gifts, disqualifying circumstances, was the state of the case in Mr. Willard's return to the College. He remained at College, as I have before said, a year after taking his degree, as a resident graduate, and six years as a Tutor, the four last of

which he was a Fellow of the Corporation. During the interval of nine years between his departure and return, occupied by his ministry at Beverly, he was not wholly cut off from intercourse with his academic friends in Cambridge and Boston, while he added to these, as a compensation for partial loss, many literary and scientific friends in his parish, in Salem, and elsewhere ; and instead of coming back as a stranger, after a period of a whole generation, like his predecessor, he was welcomed by several of his contemporaries and fellow-laborers to his home again.

Moreover, the condition of the country, which affected all its institutions, was different in the two periods of which I am speaking. In 1774 the dark cloud of war was lowering over it, boding ill to all liberal institutions. In a few months after Mr. Langdon was placed in the President's chair, Cambridge became, not the battle-ground, but the encampment of the American troops. The sons of Mars had a bloodless victory over the young tenants of a philosophical abode, by which they were dispossessed and compelled to remove. They were restless in the place of their retreat. It was more than a year before they returned to their own quarters, and much longer before all the evils that attended their removal were remedied. This suspension of study on the classic ground, while the library was scattered in neighboring villages, and the students procured only a part of it, occasioned a waste in the literary course that could not be repaired. Then waxed the war in its extent and its ravages, with its consequent anxieties and distress, impoverishment and corruption, (over all the arts of peace paramount,) and so continued to the end of

Mr. Langdon's presidency. He shared with others personal inconvenience and loss, from an almost worthless currency, and a deranged and unknown condition of the College treasury. Not on this account is it anywhere alleged that his natural energy was impaired. He was a lusty Whig, and it was said, or rather clearly implied, that John Hancock, the compeer of the great Samuel Adams, (compeer, I say,—that is, making up by his wealth and popular address a balance-weight equal in public estimation to the sagacity and ponderous intellect of Adams,) who was, by virtue of his office as Treasurer of the College, one of the Corporation, was instrumental in a great degree in procuring the election of Dr. Langdon to the office of President. Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary, says of Dr. Langdon: "His character as a very zealous Whig was of more advantage to him than his reputation in the republic of letters. Mr. Hancock was in the Corporation, and it was suggested to him, that prejudices were spreading against several in the government of the society who were on the side of the Tories; and that the interest and honor of the College were likely to suffer." Here is an implication not pleasant to think upon, unless qualifications strictly pertaining to the office were also duly regarded, according to the best judgment of the electors.

During his six years' presidency, the war, with all its vicissitudes and disturbing influences, doubtless had an ill effect upon the College, independently of the peculiar evils brought upon it at its commencement, from which it slowly, but imperfectly, recovered, and which rendered its discipline more difficult. But above all was the sad truth, that the President had not acquired that affection

and respect, nor that confidence and consequent aid, on the part of those associated with him in the immediate government, which are indispensable to the chief executive officer in administering the affairs of an institution constituted like that over which he presided. The short corollary, therefore, from all that I have ever heard of him, is that he was not in his right place. His conduct in leaving it is a sufficient demonstration of his imbecility. From one of the committee of the students who personally appeared before him requesting him to resign his office, I learned, many years ago, that the President was much affected on the occasion, and that the committee left him, if not with his promise, with the full expectation, that he would comply with the request.* His compliance was very prompt. There is no history of the matter between the demand and the result. †

* This committee was chosen at a meeting of the students,—a meeting which was suggested and encouraged, as I always understood, by two of the immediate government, so called; namely, James Winthrop, the librarian, and William Bentley, one of the Tutors, whose names in this transaction may be innocently mentioned,—for it was in Commons Hall where this scene in the act took place, and was therefore widely bruited. Besides, they both lived bachelors to advanced age, so that, if there was anything ill in the act on their part, there is no one to take offence at its revival as an historical fact now, more than half a century after the death of the actors.

† Mr. Caleb Gannett, who was then a Tutor and member of the Corporation, says, in his diary, 1780, August 29th: “The President announced his intention to resign his office in the Chapel, and declined doing any business officially.” Again: “September 15th. The President’s resignation accepted by the Overseers, yesterday, and the chair declared vacant.” He made

As if conscious that he might be more useful and more happy elsewhere, he took counsel only of his own reflection and forecast, and by his wise obedience to it returned to his professional calling. He was soon after installed as the minister of the Congregational Church in Hampton Falls, N. H., where he enjoyed a happy and useful ministry, until his death, in the year 1792. He performed a good service for his country in the year 1788, as a member of the Convention in that State, by his able advocacy of the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Mr. Willard was inaugurated as President of Harvard College, December 19, 1781, with the usual public formalities. These had been omitted when his predecessor entered upon the duties of the office; for Mr. Langdon began his new career in the midst of public commotion, just before the conflict of arms burst forth in Massachusetts, and involved the *United Colonies* in a war with Great Britain; and Mr. Willard succeeded him just after the war of the United States with the same foe was virtually brought to a close by the capitulation of Cornwallis. There was now a pause, a breathing-time, a time of hope amidst the wreck; a time to explore the waste, and to bring order out of confusion in the social, civil, religious, and literary institutions of the country, all crippled by pinching poverty; a work not to be accomplished in a moment.

no comments. I should judge, from his manner of speaking of the President's paraphrases of Scripture in the Chapel, that they were not very edifying. His words, after speaking of the exercises, are "*pro more*," "*like himself*," &c., with no terms of commendation anywhere.

The country was bankrupt, and the seminaries of learning were involved in its bankruptcy. The States were nominally united, but without a central power authorized to execute its decrees, or create a revenue from commerce.

Here I am obliged to make use of the details in President Quincy's History of Harvard University (who had access to all the records) so far as to show the embarrassment of the President, together with the other officers of the College Faculty, in consequence of the unproductiveness of the funds, and their worthlessness, for successive years, compared with their nominal amount. The grant of three hundred pounds in specie by the General Court, for the removal of Mr. Willard and his family to Cambridge, and for his first year's salary, I have already mentioned. For the second year no provision was made by the Court, in the January session, for his salary, or for that of the Professors. In June of the same year, 1783, "the Corporation addressed a memorial to the General Court, setting forth that, from the first foundation of the College, the President had received his support from the public, by an annual salary, granted by the General Court; that after the institution of the Hollis and Hancock professorships, the funds appropriated not yielding a sufficiency for their support, the General Court annually voted an additional sum towards the maintenance of those professors; that as by far the greatest part of the President's support had been derived from the General Court, the failure of these annual grants rendered his condition distressing, and the same failure now for two years had reduced the Professors to great difficulties. The Corpo-

ration therefore pray the Legislature, that grants may be made to these officers as formerly, particularly now, when peace is restored, and the country is delivered from the dangers and expenses of the war."

The prayer of the Corporation was so far answered, that the Court granted, in July of the same year, one hundred and fifty-six pounds to the President, and about one hundred pounds each to the three Professors,—reluctantly, it may be inferred, and with an implied rebuke, such as is often given to a beggar, namely, Don't trouble me again; for "instead of being, as on former occasions, declared to be gratuitous," or in consideration of services, it was declared to be "on account of services done and to be done, he" (the grantee) "to be accountable for the same."

In the following year, 1784, at the January term of the Court, no grants were made. "In consequence of this neglect, the Corporation empowered the College Treasurer to lend on interest three hundred pounds to the President, and two hundred to each of the Professors, in confidence that the Legislature would vote the usual grants ; after which these sums were to be repaid.

"In July the General Court made to the President a grant of one hundred and fifty pounds, and to each of the Professors about one hundred. These sums were not equal to those granted in former times, and were not adequate to the expectations or necessities of those officers."

"President Willard began to realize the precariousness of his support, and in the autumn of 1784 addressed a formal remonstrance to the Corporation on the uncertain nature of his compensation. He urged

the straits and difficulties to which he had been reduced by the omission of the General Court; that the grant made in July was inadequate to his expectations and necessities, and that it was a matter of uncertainty when, if ever, the General Court would make him a further allowance; in which case he must necessarily involve himself in debt, a circumstance which would no more be to the credit of his office than to his own comfort. The Corporation could only respond to this memorial by another grant of one hundred and fifty pounds, on the same conditions as the former. During the years 1785 - 86 this system of loans continued, with the same expectation of reimbursement."

"The Corporation and Overseers became alarmed at the amount of these advances, and in May, 1786, "united in a memorial requesting assistance to the College. Upon this petition, a grant was made to President Willard of upwards of four hundred and eighty pounds, and to each of the Professors of upwards of two hundred and forty pounds, being at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum, which was declared to be in full for all demands of those officers respectively to the 31st of May, 1786. This was the last sum granted by the Legislature towards the salary of any of the officers of Harvard College." *

* At the same session, the General Court called upon the Corporation for a particular statement of the College funds, and the salaries allowed to the several officers. This call they readily complied with, showing the great loss of property in the last ten years according to the present value of public securities, and renewing their entreaties for aid, of which they might reasonably have entertained a hope, after thus exposing their poverty; but the help-

I have thus given an abstract, from President Quincy's History of Harvard University, of the difficulties encountered by the Corporation in paying the salaries of the officers during the first ten years of Mr. Willard's presidency. They found the General Court as unyielding in the returning prosperity of the Commonwealth as it had been in its severest straits,—even more so. Rights on the part of the College which might be termed prescriptive were virtually abjured by the Legislature; and the child which it had cherished in its infancy and growth to manhood, when it became crippled by unavoidable misfortunes, was scornfully told to go alone.

Had it not been for the provident and skilful man-

ing hand was not extended, and the Corporation, as before, were obliged to resort to loans for the support of the President and Professors. This statement required by the Legislature, with an accompanying memorial, was taken up in March, 1787, and referred, together with the previous memorials of the Corporation, to a joint committee directed to sit during the recess of the General Court and to report at the next session; at which "this committee made an elaborate report, declaring the expediency of making up the arrearages to the President and Professors, and of adopting such measures in future for their support as may supersede the necessity of annual grants." This was just what the Corporation had wished, and long prayed for; but it was never done. The report was referred from year to year, and in every recurrence addressed to deaf ears. At length, in 1791, Governor Hancock was induced to allude to the necessity of legislative aid, in his speech to the General Court, and to introduce by a special message the memorial of Samuel Adams and others, a committee of the Overseers and Corporation, on the necessity of making up the arrearages of the usual grants to College officers; without which they averred that either the assessments on the

agement of the funds of the College by the Corporation, and by their upright, intelligent, and judicious Treasurer, it would have been a long time, maimed as it had been so sadly, before it could have been made whole. "Amid the difficulties and perils of the war and the embarrassments subsequent to the peace," President Quincy says, "the Corporation held with unshaken firmness the certificates of public debt,— which they had been compelled to receive, and vested in them, with great judgment, whatever sums were brought into their Treasury. On the funding of the national debt, under the auspices of Alexander Hamilton [Secretary of the Treasury of the United States], the College therefore derived the full benefit of the wisdom of the Corpora-

students must be augmented, or some of the institutions of the College must fail of support. After great debate, the subject was again referred to the next session.

The advances made by the Corporation to the President and Professors, in the form of loans, had now amounted to nearly three thousand pounds, and again, January, 1792, they prayed the General Court to reimburse this sum, but without success.

In January, 1793, the Corporation made their final appeal for the reimbursement of the three thousand pounds which had been advanced to the President and Professors on their notes at sundry times. They stated that during the war, being obliged to receive payment of debts due to the College in paper currency, and invest the same in loan-office certificates and State notes, the College sunk half its original stock ; but by strict economy and purchases of public securities from time to time, the loss had been made up ; that no grants had been made by the Legislature since the year 1786 ; and they pray that their advances to the officers, amounting to three thousand pounds, may be reimbursed. It was a prayer probably of little faith ; it certainly was not answered.

tion, and of their confidence in the ultimate returning of the nation to a sense of justice. The prosperous condition of the College finances may be especially attributed to three individuals,— Ebenezer Storer (Treasurer), James Bowdoin, and John Lowell."

The College, though it had so long been abandoned by the General Court, had so far recovered from its embarrassment in its pecuniary affairs, that the votes of the President and Professors were, by concurrent votes of the Corporation and Overseers, immediately cancelled.

CHAPTER VII.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

State of the College at the beginning of his Presidency.—Members of the Corporation: Samuel Cooper, D.D.; James Bowdoin; Simeon Howard; Edward Wigglesworth; John Lathrop; Ebenezer Storer.—Members of the Faculty.—Vote of Overseers in Respect to the Internal Government of the College.—Its improved Condition.—Laws requiring Outward Respect to the President and other Officers.—President's Treatment of Students.

HAVING been led, from the account of the attempt made by the Corporation, before the choice of Mr Willard to the office of President, to obtain for him from the Legislature a permanent salary, and, in consequence of the failure of the attempt, to describe continuously the measures taken from year to year to provide means for the support of the incumbent, I now recur to other circumstances, more pleasant to relate, pertaining to President Willard's entrance upon the duties of his office. Although so early made anxious concerning the means of supporting his household, amidst the pecuniary troubles of the College,—a state of things which must necessarily obstruct the free exercise of the mind on those high objects which, reaching beyond self, give to it the greatest enlargement,—there was yet the

anchor of hope for his reliance. He had come among wise men, who were faithfully watching at their posts for the best interests of the College; and, mingling with them, he added one more to the number. By unity of purpose and mutual sympathy each with every other, they submitted without despondency to present sacrifices, and, by provident measures for the future, guarded, as best they could, against the wreck with which they were threatened. He had come back, so to speak, to his home of eleven years, in a happy period of his life, with energy mental and physical unimpaired, at forty-three years of age, after nine years' absence, finding many changes, as must needs be in this time, though an interval of less than a third part of one generation. And whom did he find of the friends respected and beloved whom he had left?

Of the Corporation there was SAMUEL COOPER, minister of Brattle Street Church, widely celebrated as a learned divine and eloquent preacher, and still more widely celebrated, because more widely known, by his writings as an American patriot during the revolutionary period that preceded the conflict of arms, and through the war of the Revolution; known not only in his own country, but in the mother country and in France, and celebrated among all who sympathized with the American Colonies in their struggle for freedom. He was a member of the Corporation from the year 1757 to the close of his life, December 23, 1783. Mr. Willard had been an associate with him at the same board, while a Tutor, for four years, namely from 1768 to 1772, the year of his ordination at Beverly; and now again became an associate for two years, as

President of the College, and consequently President of the board of the Corporation,— the two last years of Dr. Cooper's life, namely, from December, 1781, to December, 1783. Again, in the interval, namely, in the year 1780, at the organization of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, they were brought near together, by the choice of Dr. Cooper as Vice-President and Mr. Willard as Corresponding Secretary. In the few years not included in these official fellowships, they were not separated widely from each other, and annually, as brethren of the same sacred calling, they met in the convention of the Congregational clergy, about ecclesiastical affairs, and in social fellowship for renewals of the mutually cherished affections growing out of years of intimacy. At other times, doubtless, they enjoyed friendly greetings, casual or concerted. The last occasion on which their names are found in juxtaposition was a day of public joy, of public thanksgiving; peculiarly a joyful day, as the first annual Thanksgiving in Massachusetts after the peace with Great Britain. But to them the joy, as it always must be on such an occasion to many, was tempered by personal grief. Dr. Cooper had been taken ill before this day of public festivity, and faint were the hopes of his recovery. President Willard performed the accustomed services of the day in Brattle Street Church, and his sermon, which was printed, bears this title: "A Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered at Boston, December 11, 1783, to the Religious Society in Brattle Street, under the Pastoral Care of the Rev. Samuel Cooper, D.D., by the Rev. Joseph Willard, A.M., President of the University in Cambridge." On the twelfth day thereafter Dr. Cooper

died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In the closing part of his sermon, Mr. Willard thus addressed his auditory : " Notwithstanding you are partakers of the public joy which is diffused through the land, it cannot but be damped by what you feel as a religious society on account of the illness of your excellent pastor ; and in this regard it is with you a day of darkness. I feel your concern,— I heartily condole with you under this afflictive dispensation of Providence, and consider myself as deeply interested. May a life so eminently useful and valuable be precious in the sight of God. May he graciously restore him to health and to distinguished serviceableness among the people of his beloved charge, to the University of which he is so excellent and beneficial a governor, and to the public which he has greatly served, and which would very sensibly feel his loss."

With JAMES BOWDOIN, who was a member of the Corporation when Mr. Willard was elected President, he must have been well acquainted during his former connection with the College, as Tutor and Fellow ; for Mr. Bowdoin at that period was several years a member of the Governor's Council under the Provincial Government, and as such one of the Overseers and visitors of the institution. I well remember the great respect with which Mr. Willard was accustomed to speak of him, as one of the earliest, most discreet, and sagacious patriots, and a very enlightened statesman ; and the high estimation with which Mr. Bowdoin was regarded by him, if founded primarily on public acts, was heightened and confirmed by personal knowledge of the man. Then, during a period of nearly two years pre-

vious to Mr. Willard's accession to the President's chair, they had been fellow-laborers, as members and officers of the American Academy, in efforts to give an impetus to its movements and an extension of its name and purposes at home and abroad. Mr. Bowdoin was a member of the Corporation from the year 1779 to 1785. He resigned his seat at the board in this latter year, in consequence of his onerous duties as Governor of Massachusetts, — onerous on account of the discontented, restless, and factious spirit that reigned in the Commonwealth, from poverty, the burden of taxes, and vexations of lawsuits, which were followed by hatred of courts and lawyers, and thence extended to government itself in open rebellion ; which, if it had not been seasonably checked, might have become a sanguinary civil war.

SIMEON HOWARD, D.D., was chosen a member of the Corporation in season to give his voice and vote for Mr. Willard for the office of President. Of the intimate friendship that existed between them, which began in the year 1765, while they were residents at the University, and which was never interrupted, I have spoken before. Dr. Howard was elected in 1780 to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Caleb Gannett, one of the Tutors, who was also a Fellow of the Corporation about two years ; this office expiring, according to usage, with the termination of the Tutorship.

In 1779 two vacancies occurred in the Corporation, occasioned by the death of Dr. Winthrop, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and the resignation of Dr. Appleton, minister of the first parish in Cambridge. They were succeeded as Fellows by

James Bowdoin, before mentioned, and Edward Wigglesworth, the second Hollis Professor of Divinity.

EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH, who succeeded his father, was installed in October, 1765, nine months after his father's death. Mr. Willard was then resident at College, and was chosen Tutor in September, 1766. Professor Wigglesworth the second was a man of various learning and scientific acquirements, besides his strictly professional knowledge, and was a valued associate of Mr. Willard, his junior officer in the Faculty, and no less so after the latter came to preside over the institution. In the board of the Corporation Professor Wigglesworth was a useful member. Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, Hancock Professor, in a lecture delivered to the students, in the year 1804, upon a special occasion,* spoke of Dr. Wigglesworth, among other officers of the College who had died within eleven years preceding, as one who, in addition to his professional distinction, "was happily qualified, by his native quickness of apprehension, cultivated understanding, correct judgment, skill in mathematics, and financial talent, to guard the charter, and to secure the funds of the University, at a period of revolutionary hazard; and likewise, by his intimate connection with College from early life, to discern the best methods of improving its system of instruction and government."

JOHN LATHROP succeeded Andrew Eliot, D. D., pastor of the church in North Street, Boston, who died September 30, 1778. He was a most estimable man, and a distinguished divine; prominent in all charitable

* After the decease of President Willard.

institutions ; who, against the persuasive efforts of many friends, refused to retire from Boston when occupied by British troops and besieged by the American army in 1775 - 76, choosing rather to minister in public and private to those who had not the means of taking refuge in the country, and thus gathering large congregations in his church on the days of public worship, comforting them in their trials, and strengthening their faith in Providence for better times coming. Dr. Lathrop was also a minister in the north part of Boston at the time of Dr. Eliot's decease, and was the only clergyman chosen a Fellow of the Corporation, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present time, who did not receive his education and degree at Harvard College.

Thus four of the Fellows were ready to greet Mr. Willard on his accession to the presidency, estimating him, as they did, to have been a faithful and discreet fellow-laborer in times gone by ; and the fifth and last named could not be a stranger to him. Whether he had been previously acquainted with EBENEZER STORER, who entered upon the duties of Treasurer, and consequently became a member of the board, in 1777, I am not able to say ; but their friendship afterwards was sincere and confiding, and each regarded the other with perfect respect, for his integrity and fitness for his office, and for his virtues as a man. They who know what a fiery trial the College passed through from the time that Mr. Storer became the Treasurer until four or five years after the peace of 1783, cannot fail to perceive that he deserves to be enrolled among its greatest benefactors. What others had bountifully given, he, by his sagacity,

perseverance, and untiring vigilance, had sacredly preserved, amidst perils the most appalling.

These were, so to speak, fellows of the President's own house, where their meetings were held, and of whom he was *primus inter pares*. Then there were contemporary friends of his without,—Dane, Fisher, Thordike, Brown, Eliot, Dexter,—whom I well remember; and though their bounty did not flow into the Treasury of the College in Mr. Willard's lifetime, it may not be going too far back to suppose that, in some of the benefactions proceeding from them, his early friendship with the benefactors may have been a remote cause of directing their beneficence to Harvard University.

In the Faculty or immediate government of the College, as it was called, Mr. Willard found Dr. Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity, of whom I have just spoken as a member of the Corporation, still in office; and Mr. Sewall also, the learned Hancock Professor of Hebrew, and Rev. Samuel Williams, who had been inaugurated as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, to fill the place that had become vacant by the death of Professor Winthrop. John Mellen, who had been a pupil of Mr. Willard four years as an undergraduate, and was afterwards minister of a Congregational church in Barnstable, William Bentley, afterwards a minister in Salem, Eleazer James, afterwards a counsellor at law, and John Hale, of Portsmouth, N. H., of the same profession, were Tutors. James Winthrop came into office as Librarian in the same year that Mr. Willard resigned his tutorship. These were the last changes

that had taken place before Mr. Willard's return to Cambridge. The three Tutors whom he had left in office had resigned; his successor, and six others afterwards, had been chosen, and, after different periods of service, had also resigned.

PROFESSOR SEWALL was an accomplished scholar and teacher, as well of Hebrew as of the Latin and Greek languages, before he was formally elected Hancock Professor. Amiable and communicative, he made friends of his pupils, and excited their zeal for advancement. Four years after he took his first degree, namely, in 1765, he was inaugurated first Professor on the foundation of Thomas Hancock, uncle of the Governor, and had therefore held the office more than sixteen years when Mr. Willard came back to the classic ground. Up to this time he had sustained a high reputation for classical and Oriental literature, and I never heard President Willard, who well knew him to be justly extolled for his eminent learning and social virtues, during the first seven years of his professorship, speak of any degeneracy, when nine years after they again met and co-operated in the discipline of the College. But if the Professor's downward course had not at this time begun, or was yet unperceived, it must have soon after become suspected, and thence quickly notorious; for so early as September, 1785, he was removed from office for inefficiency during nearly three years preceding, by a concurrent vote of the Corporation and Overseers, the preamble to which vote is expressed in terms painful to be recalled; namely, that he, Samuel Sewall, "having for nearly three years been rendered incapable of performing the duties of his office by bod-

ily indisposition, and being apparently so debilitated in his mental powers that there is little or no probability of his ever being able to discharge those duties to the honor and advantage of the University or his own reputation, therefore," &c.*

Such was the first severe trial that befell the President in relation to those who were his associates in the Academic Faculty; and a second soon followed, of a different kind, but no less lamentable.

* Quincy's History of Harvard University. In addition to the above, President Quincy quotes from the records: "In consideration of his (Professor Sewall's) long and faithful services," he was allowed, by the consent of the Corporation and Overseers, thirty pounds; a most lame and impotent conclusion, taken separately from other *considerations*. The sum *allowed* savors more of stinted almsgiving than of the reward of *long and faithful services*. Often in my youth I saw Mr. Sewall passing slowly by the President's house, crippled, tottering, and tremulous from debility, steadying himself by the fence, and now and then stopping at the President's to communicate his magnetic observations, or pay a short visit. His own house was a few rods only from the President's. Between them was Professor Wigglesworth's. After the decease of the Professors, their houses and the land appertaining were purchased by the College, and most of the land inclosed in the College grounds, and the houses leased. The Wigglesworth house, so called, was taken down many years since, and the Sewall house was sold and removed in April, 1854. The parsonage house and land of the first parish, next below the Sewall house, came into possession of the College in the year 1830, partly by exchange of land, and partly by payment of a certain amount of money towards the building of a new parish church. The house was taken down several years since. The land is all now inclosed in the College grounds. The President's house, which was literally such for a hundred and twenty years, is now a boarding-house.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, had been in this office about three months before President Langdon's resignation, and sixteen months before Mr. Willard's inauguration. Pending the question of a successor to Dr. Langdon, I have good reason to believe that Professor Williams directly or indirectly made considerable efforts to gain what he regarded as the higher boon, and to leave the station he adorned, to be filled by a man who had proved himself competent to discharge its duties. Otherwise, however, did *they* judge who had the gift in their keeping. Never did I hear a syllable of the Professor's aspirations from President Willard, who rarely said anything about himself, and kept to himself his own secrets. But from my mother, who never revealed a secret until the right time came for the revelation, I did hear circumstances by which she was convinced of the fact I have mentioned. This disclosure to me was long after the occasion to which it related had gone by, when neither of the parties could be harmed by it, and when one of them had retired to another Territory, called then, I believe, sometimes, the New State, though not admitted into the Union until three years afterwards, 1791. Professor Williams was respected in his office, and his lectures and philosophical experiments and illustrations gained a flattering attention from his auditory. So I have always heard, and so I should think from his graceful style of writing, from his affluent conversation, to which, many years after he left Cambridge, I had the pleasure of listening at several interviews in the State to which he retired, and from his familiar knowledge of the sciences embraced in his professor-

ship. But with this elevation in science, like that of several in letters, there was a fall of the moral man, greatly and truly to be deplored. He became embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs; rumor became busy with the charge of some criminal act relating thereto; "a question arose in the Board of Overseers, June, 1788, relative to his conduct in one of his transactions, and he immediately resigned his office." *

This, in such quick and startling succession, compared with the permanency and moral worth of past Professors, was the President's second severe trial. He had expected to come into the small family of learned men in the Faculty, who were friends and guides and examples of the larger family of young men and youth; of men whose purity gave the highest sanction to all their laws; on whose steadfastness he could rely in every time of need.

Taught by experience of the past, and in his foresight of what might come, he did not indeed expect to be cheered by perpetual sunshine; to find every path bordered by flowers; to meet a genial smile on every countenance, or the open hand voluntarily tendered for aid in every exigency. Nor was all this promised.

* Quincy's History of Harvard University. A contemporary friend of mine, who was a member of Chief Justice Dana's household at that time, has told me more than once, that when this cloud was thickening, and becoming more dark, Professor Williams had an interview with the Judge, at the house of the latter, in the evening. The Judge, after the Professor's statement, left the matter to his own conscience, whether to wait the issue or retire from Cambridge and the Commonwealth. On the following morning he disappeared.

On the contrary, he was delicately warned at the threshold by those who had a right to demand his vigilance, that there were existing evils to be remedied, and that the like evils should be guarded against. I allude to a vote of the Board of Overseers, passed December, 1781, before President Willard's induction, recommending to the officer elect "to take care to support the honor of the chair by exercising that power respecting both government and instruction with which the constitution invests the President, and which *his predecessors in that office before the war* have exercised for the good order and benefit of the University." The italics I have placed as they are found in Mr. Quincy's quotation. No farther evidence is needed to show that a firm and steady hand was required at the head of the institution. How far its infection from the prevalent disorder and insubordination in the community at large, and how far the want of unity and consequently of energy in its immediate government, occasioned the laxity of discipline, it is difficult now to determine, so as to fix the relative effect of the two causes. It is sufficient to say that the government was not powerful enough for the exigency of the case. Making all due abatements for errors of tradition, there can be no doubt that there was a want of efficiency in the head of the immediate government, and that Mr. Bentley, one of the Tutors, and Mr. Winthrop, the Librarian, who was several years the senior in age and in office,* perceived that the hour of a crisis had come when an important change might

* In a preceding note I have mentioned in few words the names of these gentlemen in relation to the same transaction.

be wrought. The latter, in Commons Hall, either immediately before or after the students had obtained leave for a meeting, under some pretext, addressed them in a manner which was well understood by the disaffected among their number, "assuring them that, if their complaints were well founded, and they were united, they would succeed; else they would be severely punished." The young men cared nothing for the hypothetical conjunction used by Mr. Winthrop. Already he must have been privy to the purpose of the meeting; but whether he was or was not concerned in any initiatory steps, or had countenanced them in his private interviews, is, so far as I know, a matter of inference. The Tutors, Mr. Bentley excepted, appear to have been neutral.*

* I do not think that either Mr. Winthrop or Mr. Bentley was a favorite of President Willard. They were both men of considerable learning, more superficial than deep, and more specious than exact. Their intimacy continued, I believe, so long as they both lived. Both possessed many good, social qualities; both were Democrats, as opposed to Federalists, after the federal government was organized, and through the period when party spirit was most virulent. Each had his peculiarities and eccentricities, not so antagonistic in kind or degree as to impair essentially their mutual sympathy, in the main; neither was very friendly to Harvard College, in latter years; both died bachelors; and neither of them left any token of affection to his Alma Mater. Winthrop probably was repelled by the effect of a general statute of the Corporation and Overseers, growing out of his own case, when Librarian; namely, that no member of the immediate government of the College should hold any civil or judicial office. In this alternative he left his office in the College, choosing rather to retain that of Register of Probate. Bentley received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1819, and died in the same year. Had

Diversity of character and temperament, whatever it may have been among the officers of the immediate government at the time of which I am speaking, was not such as to produce any schism, or any such want of agreement as to disturb harmonious action in the management of the internal affairs of the College. Mellen, as well as Bentley, had been in office more than a year before Mr. Willard entered upon his official duties, and James and Hale a few months. The two former remained in service about eighteen months, Hale more than four years, and James more than seven years. The President was, therefore, favored in this respect; for if there had been a sudden abandonment of their posts, simultaneously (as it has sometimes happened), at the beginning of his presidency, it would have rendered the government of the students, no less than the instruction of them, a matter of more difficulty. All these gentlemen I remember; not when they were Tutors, except Mr. James, of whom I have a faint recollection as a visitor at the President's, before he resigned his office in the year 1789. They were men worthy of their place, and co-operated faithfully with the President in the discipline of the College.

Of the first class that received the bachelor's degree, Mr. Willard presiding, one only survives; the Hon. John Welles, who was graduated in 1782.*

he lived longer, he might perhaps have warmed again to the old matron.

* Of the next class, 1783, Asa Andrews still survives, in the ninety-third year of his age. He is my father-in-law, the great-grandfather of some of President Willard's great-grandchildren, namely, my five grandchildren.

Of the first class that entered in that year, and consequently graduated in 1786, three are still living. If the chances of the duration of human life shall not diminish, some who are born the present year (1855) will live long enough to witness the third centennial celebration of the founding of Harvard College, of whom, it may be, there will, here and there, be a son of one who was present at the second.

Further, concerning the discipline of the College upon Mr. Willard's accession to the Presidency, I heard, in my younger days, from gentlemen who were undergraduates at the time, that a manifest change took place in the order preserved among the students; particularly I learned this fact from a graduate, still living, who was a member of the Sophomore Class when President Langdon resigned, and when he received his degree had been eighteen months under Mr. Willard's administration.

Mr. Eliot, in his "Sketch of the History of Harvard College," published in 1848,—having then been a member of the Corporation and Treasurer of the College six years,—who had access to all the records, and who affirms nothing without due caution, says that Mr. Willard "fully justified the choice of the governors of the College, by the ability, energy, learning, piety, and dignity which formed and adorned his character. Coming to the chair at the moment when the mingled successes and disasters of the country, the universal poverty, and the intense interest in public affairs turned the thoughts of the young as well as of the old from the pursuit of knowledge to that of gain or renown, he yet succeeded in reviving, to a great extent, the spirit of learning, the

desire for education, and the respect to which literature and science are under all circumstances justly entitled. New life was infused into the management of the College in all its departments; and such was the discipline maintained, no doubt, in part, by the personal dignity and influence of Dr. Willard, that, although, during the long term of twenty-three years that he occupied the position of President, severe punishments were sometimes inflicted, yet there is no record of any of those combinations among the students for resisting or insulting the authority of the government, which have been termed rebellions, and which have not been so entirely unknown in earlier and later periods of the College history."

Outward tokens of respect required to be paid to the immediate government, and particularly to the President, were attended with formalities that seemed to be somewhat excessive ; such, for instance, as made it an offence for a student to wear his hat in the College yard or enclosure when the President was within it. This, indeed, in the fulness of the letter, gradually died out, and was compromised by the observance only when the student was so near, or in such a position, that he was likely to be recognized. Still, when the students assembled for morning and evening prayer, which was performed with great constancy by the President, they were careful to avoid a close proximity to the outer steps of the chapel, until the President had reached and passed within the threshold. This was a point of decorum which it was pleasing to witness, and I never saw it violated.

At his study, when visited by students whose coming

was voluntary and unlooked for, they were received with paternal kindness. This I know from having been a personal witness of the fact many times, from the twelfth year and onward after he had been in office, when it had become his confirmed habit. His common mode of address, especially to the younger scholars, when they thus approached him, was such as tended to relieve them from embarrassment, and encourage them to a prompt declaration of their purpose. "Well, child, what do you wish?" was perhaps his most usual formula in accosting students on such occasions, when he did not call them by their names, if their years did not advance too near to their majority, or if they were not so impulsive and abrupt in announcing their wishes as to anticipate his salutation. In either case they were sure of an answer to their requests with little hesitancy or delay.

Severity in theory or practice was not his fundamental principle of government. It was rather vigilance, that does not overlook delinquency, and constancy in admonition and remonstrance, that in ordinary cases he looked to as the best reformatory measures ; in fact, a paternal government to the full extent of its practicability. Firmness, however, was closely allied to clemency, so that, in cases demanding exemplary punishment, he did not shrink from his duty, nor hold it to be inconsistent therewith, to soften the rigor of the punishment, by bringing to the view of the delinquent his ability to redeem his character, and a restoration to the favor and approval of the Faculty.

The exalted moral qualities of President Willard, his extraordinary moral courage in particular, his un-

yielding integrity, and no less his kindness, benevolence, and forbearance, were well known and highly appreciated by his neighbors and associates, and by all who knew him. As the head of the Corporation, who framed the laws, and of the immediate government, who applied and executed them, he never attempted to shun the responsibility of sharing in measures decreed by the latter body. If any act of discipline inflicted on a student occasioned the displeasure or resentment of his parents or friends, and was expressed by them to the President, with the implication that, from his position, he was the proper mark to be aimed at, whether he approved of the act or otherwise, he had but one principal answer; namely, it was the judgment of the immediate government. If he thought there was occasion to vindicate it, he did so. Never did he impute to others of the Faculty any particular agency in measures which occasioned offence, for the sake of shielding himself. His integrity of purpose in all his relations, fortified by innate fearlessness and firmness of character, which enabled him to disregard all threats and all lures intended to make him falter in the path of duty, were never doubted.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

Addresses introductory to Commencement Exhibitions.—Sermons at Evening Prayers in the Chapel on Sunday.—Inclination to visit Europe.—Correspondence with Hon. John Adams on the Subject.—Correspondence with Dr. Lettsom and Thomas Brand Hollis.—Lettsom's Gift of Minerals and Hollis's Gift of Books to the College.—Rumford's Letters.—His Donations to the American Academy and Bequests to Harvard College.

AMONG the relics of President Willard's manuscripts there are several short addresses before the auditory assembled to hear the exercises at the annual Commencements. Of these I find only seven; knowing how little care he took of his manuscripts, I think it probable that there were more. Those that remain are without dates. The two oldest, as I judge them to be partly from the change of the color of the paper, and partly from internal evidence, relating to the subject-matter, are written in Latin. One of these is addressed solely to the candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, "Juvenes amici," reminding them of what they had done or might have done in the academic halls, in order to prepare for useful lives; of what was due

to themselves, and from them to the public, in future, as teachers and members of the learned professions, and in their various occupations. The other was addressed to the Overseers, and to all the friends and patrons of learning present, namely, "Viri honorandi admodum ac reverendi, qui inspectorum consessum et Senatum academicum ornatis, vosque omnes literarum fautores, qui adestis," &c. In this he spoke of the benefits of institutions for the instruction of youth in the higher departments of literature and science, of the founders and benefactors of Harvard College, of its progress and present condition and wants, and of the many eminent statesmen and ministers of the Gospel there educated. This, I think, must have been delivered at the first Commencement at which Mr. Willard presided, namely, 1782. Its formalities and topics appear to indicate this, and the following earnest apostrophe to peace seems to confirm it; for the year after, although the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain was not signed until the 3d of September, yet it was so universally and confidently expected, that what was prayed for in the former year would in the latter seem to have been succeeded by the full assurance of fulfilment.
"Redeas, O pax, ab exilio redeas, libertatem plenam ac stabilem felicitatemque, perennem huic terræ afferens! Jam inde a tua absentia bello contendimus ut jura nostra stabilirentur, ensibusque petivimus placidam sub libertate quietem. Hæc beneficia si afferes te redeuntem, lætitia maximâ amplectemur."

The other addresses made by the President to the graduating classes on the same public occasion in succeeding years were written in English, and, besides the

words of congratulation, of advice, of affectionate warning and encouraging hope, and whatever relates to the College and college life, that they contain, incidental remarks occur here and there relating to the Commonwealth, to the happy formation of the Constitution of the United States, and its adoption by the people, and the administration of the government under it. The last of these, which was delivered but a very few years before his decease, was of a more hortatory character than any preceding. His constitution had been greatly impaired by painful and complicated diseases, and though I never perceived that his mind was essentially weakened, yet the natural influence of suffering on the disposition of a kind, thoughtful, and religious man, such as he was, tended to deepen his feelings of tenderness and solicitude for a class of young men, about to enter upon new conflicts and perils, in a world full of trials, temptations, and snares. He warned them especially against scepticism, against the gross contemporaneous attacks on Christianity, and the degeneracy of the age, which, he said, "we have too much reason to call the age of infidelity and irreligious depravity."

"Let none," he said, "censure me as delivering these sentiments at an unseasonable time. Providence has been teaching me for many months past, by very painful and afflicting lessons, the precariousness of life; and perhaps I may never have another opportunity of delivering before those who have been committed to my charge truths of such high moment."

In the early period of his presidency, Mr. Willard not unfrequently delivered a sermon at evening prayers on Sunday. In the year 1794, I remember, he preached

once or twice on that evening, but in the next year and onward he discontinued the service. His predecessor used to expound passages of Scripture as a part of the religious service. These expositions are frequently spoken of in the diary of Mr. Caleb Gannett when he was a Tutor. On Saturday evening and Sunday morning and evening, generally, the College choir sang a hymn or an anthem. When these Sunday services were observed in the Chapel, the Faculty and students worshipped on Lord's Day, at the stated hours of meeting, in the Congregational or the Episcopal Church. The latter, however, having been in a ruined condition at the close of the war of the Revolution, so remained for a number of years. It was not repaired and again opened for public worship until ten or twelve years after Mr. Willard's presidency commenced.

I learn indirectly that very early in his Presidency Mr. Willard entertained a desire to visit Europe particularly for the purpose of acquainting himself with the laws, customs, and modes of education in the Universities. Not from his own letters do I learn this, for he kept no copies of them, but from the answers to them by HON. JOHN ADAMS, to whom they were addressed while he was minister resident in France.

“Auteuil, near Paris, September 8, 1784.

“SIR,—I have received, by Mrs. Adams, the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 8th of June last, together with a vote of the President and Fellows of Harvard College of the 1st of April, 1783, and a diploma for a Doctorate of Laws, elegantly engrossed, and the seal inclosed in a silver box.

"This mark of the approbation of so respectable a University does me great honor, and is now especially acceptable to me, as it comes from a society where I had my education, and for which I have ever entertained the highest veneration. Let me pray you, sir, to present my best respects and most hearty thanks to the Corporation, and to accept the same for the polite and obliging manner in which you have communicated their resolution and diploma.

"Your design, sir, of visiting the Universities of Europe to become acquainted with their laws, customs, and modes of education, is a very wise one. The reflections you would make and the correspondences you would form would amply compensate the trouble and expense, although I can give you no encouragement to hope for the smallest pecuniary advantage. It is the general sentiment in Europe, even of those who are not professed enemies to America, that there is already in that country wealth and knowledge enough, and too many advantages for acquiring more, to make it necessary for them to contribute any of theirs to our assistance.

"If you come, sir, while I remain in Europe, you may depend upon any assistance which a residence of near seven years abroad, in France, Holland, and England, may enable me to give you in obtaining introductions to such characters as you wish to see.

"After all, the system of education at your University is so excellent, that I should not wish to see it essentially changed, much less conformed to the models in Europe, where there is much less attention to the morals and studies of the youth. In this sentiment I am so fully fixed as to be very desirous of giving my own son an

opportunity to study with you. He has travelled with me and Mr. Dana for near seven years, and has seen the most of Europe, but he has not neglected his studies. He has been matriculated in the University of Leyden, and studied there some time, and might have a degree there with the attendance of a few months more. He is advanced in age, and, I flatter myself, in literature, so far as to render it impossible for me to offer him at Harvard College as a Freshman. But if the laws will admit him, after an examination, and upon the payment of a sum of money, for the benefit of the society, with the class of the third or fourth year, I should choose to send him to you rather than to Leyden. I should be much obliged to you for your sentiments upon this subject.

“With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

“JOHN ADAMS.

“THE REVEREND JOSEPH WILLARD, *President of the University at Cambridge.*”

The degree of LL.D. conferred on Mr. Adams was announced by President Willard at his public inauguration; but more than two years had expired before a suitable and safe opportunity offered for the conveyance of the diploma. The *vote* of the President and Fellows to which Mr. Adams refers relates to the manner in which the seal of the diploma should be inclosed.

Mr. Adams, in his second letter, besides its immediate purpose, advert's again to the President's request for the advice of the former concerning the proposed visit to Europe.

"Auteuil, near Paris, April 22, 1785.

“SIR,— I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 14th of December, with the resolution of the President and Fellows of the University of the 16th of November, which, as well as the concurrence of the Board of Overseers, does me great honor, and demands my most grateful acknowledgments.

“My son, John Quincy Adams, for whom this favor is intended, will have the honor to deliver you this letter, and I beg leave to recommend him to the kind protection of the Corporation, and the candid friendship of his fellow-students. He has wandered with me in Europe for seven years, and has been for the last eighteen months my only secretary, so that it may be easily conceived I shall part with him with reluctance. But the necessity of breeding him to some profession in which he may provide for himself, and become a useful member of society, and a conviction that no American can be anywhere so well educated as in his own country, have induced me to relinquish the pleasure of his company and the advantage of his assistance. I think I do not flatter him nor myself, when I say that he is a studious youth, and not addicted to any vice. Of his advancement in literature and the sciences you will form an estimate from his examination, which would probably be more for his ease and safety if it could be in French, with which language he is more familiar than his own. But as this is not to be expected, an allowance will naturally be made on account of his long absence from home.

“It is somewhat delicate to give advice upon the point

of your travels to Europe. There is no doubt but considerable advantage might be obtained, but considering the time, the expense, and the risk, I think, if I had the honor to be a member of the Corporation or the Overseers, I should estimate these as probably so much more than the others, as to advise my countrymen, as they are so happy as to have a good President, to preserve him carefully at the head of his University.

“Our commercial negotiation, sir, which your public spirit naturally inquires after, proceeds so slowly, and to so little effect, that I wish myself on your side of the water; and whether any other plan would succeed better is too uncertain to excite any sanguine hopes. All the ports of Europe, however, are open to our vessels, those with whom we have no treaties as well as the others.

“I have the honor to be, with the utmost esteem and respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

“JOHN ADAMS.

“THE REVEREND JOSEPH WILLARD, *President of Harvard University.*”

The resolution of the President and Fellows, concurred in by the Overseers, and referred to in this letter, is substantially as follows, viz.: “In consideration of the distinguished services of the Hon. John Adams, his son John Quincy shall be received into the class for which he shall be found qualified, without payment of the customary charge for advanced standing.”

What little I have to say concerning Dr. Willard’s

correspondence during his presidency I may as well say here.

The following characteristic letter from General Washington is an answer to a letter introducing Tobias Lear.

"Mount Vernon, March 10, 1787."

"REVEREND SIR,— Permit me to entreat that my long delay in acknowledging the receipt of your polite letter of the 15th of May last may be ascribed to any cause rather than the want of respect for your character and gratitude for the favorable sentiments you have expressed me.

"As the letter was introductory of Mr. Lear, I found myself inclined, though disposed to give full credence to your account of the talents and good disposition of this young gentleman, to take time, and seek occasions, to form my own judgment of him; and it is with pleasure I now assure you that his deportment since he came into this family has been such as to obtain the esteem, confidence, and love of every individual in it.

"As (from the interest you have taken in his welfare) I persuade myself this testimony of my approbation of his conduct will not be displeasing to you, I could no longer withhold it, especially as it affords an occasion of assuring you of my good wishes for the University over which you preside, and of the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, reverend sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"THE REV. SAMUEL WILLARD."

One of the President's most generous correspondents,

as well in the amount of information conveyed as of cordial friendly feeling consonant with the name of the sect to which he belonged, was Dr. John C. Lettsom of London. His letters extend in their dates from February 23, 1791, to September 27, 1797, inclusive. But there was a previous correspondence between them of which I find no vestige remaining, for the Doctor says in his letter of February 23, 1791 : " I embrace the opportunity, by the return of Dr. Windship to Boston, of *renewing* a correspondence which has always afforded me pleasure and improvement, though personally strangers. I see in my distant friend that urbanity of manners, that discernment and precision of judgment, which beget ambition to cultivate so honorable an intercourse."

This letter deals largely in politics. It was written when the friends of free government in civilized Europe were looking and listening to the National Assembly of France for light and knowledge concerning liberal institutions of government; looking with hope that the experiment in progress in that country, though so long the abode of a king-loving people, would succeed, and prove to be an example for ameliorating the political condition of other nations. The writer distrusted or disapproved some of the early resolutions of the Assembly, but on the whole thought that they had acted wisely, and had proceeded synchronous with the gradual conviction of popular sentiment. Two years afterwards, however, revolutionary measures had passed beyond the boundaries that would be set by an honest and humane Quaker. " You will be pained," he said, " to hear of the death of Louis XVI. He was a

mild prince, easy in his temper, moderate in his abilities, and perhaps, beyond any living prince, averse from stretching his prerogative. His trial and condemnation were illegal, and in every point of view very brutal, and, so far as I can judge, impolitic; as the preservation of his life might have been made the price of a general peace and acknowledgment of the French republic." In this renewal of correspondence he concluded his first letter by saying, "I feel a gratitude and sense of your kindness in enrolling me of the Academy of Arts, and now of M. D. of the University, that I cannot express."*

The salutation in this letter is "Dear Doctor"; in the next it is "Esteemed Friend." Though a Quaker, Dr. Lettsom was not averse or even indifferent to titles of honorable distinction, professional, literary, or scientific; but I believe he did not assume them in his own publications.

In March, 1792, he wrote to Dr. Willard a long letter, from which I extract the following passages:—"Upon the death of Dr. Franklin, the only honorary member of the Medical Society of London in America, I proposed thee as his successor; and in consequence of thy election, our Secretary informed thee of the same. The reason I proposed thee was, that I

* "I have sent," he adds, "as an humble addition to your library, Burmann's works, which you have not in your Catalogue. For thyself I have sent a little packet, and conclude with the hope of thy future correspondence, and with the assurance of the sincere respect of thy friend,

"J. C. LETTSOM."

thought thy name would be an honor to our institution."

In speaking of the riots and of the destruction of the property of the Dissenters by the mob in Birmingham, which had taken place the year preceding, in which Dr. Priestley was the greatest sufferer, he said it was a mode of "popular persecution in matters of religion, which ultimately, like every other persecution against truth and justice, defeats its own purposes, by confirming the minds of some and opening those of others. It is surprising that people should be so long lost to propriety and reason as to be angry that individuals should choose another course to arrive at the same haven. There seems to me to be as much reason to quarrel with another for a difference of feature of body or mind. I never saw two things alike,— no two leaves, no two faces ; nay, it is impossible to make with a pen two dots alike ; and I question whether there are in the world two persons alike in religious doctrines."

In the same letter, Dr. Lettsom, in three or four pages, gives a general survey, at his time of writing, of the political condition of the European powers.

It seems from another letter, March 26, 1795, addressed to his "esteemed friend," that he had received thanks from the Corporation of the College for a collection of minerals presented by him. "I am very glad," he said, "to find that my collection of ores has been acceptable.* Humble as it is, it may form the embryo of a giant in mineralogy."

* These were arranged and labelled on the shelves of handsome mahogany cases, in the Philosophy Chamber of Harvard

This was prophetic. Although there may be single specimens in some collections of other institutions in the United States more splendid, I believe there is no collection that approximates nearer to perfection, in varieties and kinds, than this, which had its beginning from Lettsom, who had faith not only in our civil institutions, but also in our literary and scientific progress.

In his letter of 1796, February 20, Dr. Lettsom says : "The last letter I received from my respected friend was dated so long ago as 1794; an interruption of correspondence much to my regret, and which I will endeavor to obviate by attention on my part." In this letter he communicated to his correspondent, in a letter accompanying a diploma, his admission as a member of the Royal Society of Göttingen ; having been previously nominated by Professor J. F. Blumenbach, author of a Manual of Natural History, of Comparative Anatomy, &c. Blumenbach was a correspondent of Lettsom, and at his request the latter transmitted the document to Mr. Willard, as he said, "with singular pleasure, as a tribute due to thy moral character and eminent abilities." In speaking of his own labors, he says : "I continue so closely in my professional routine of business, as to prevent me from finishing some performances yet in embryo. What little I write is *calamo currente*. I have, however, brought out a small beat or two in the pamphlet size, which I inclose for thy acceptance. My large work on the diseases of great towns and the

Hall, and were much valued as a beginning of a collection which attracted the attention of scientific gentlemen, and brought valuable additions in quick succession.

means of preventing them, I believe will die with me, as age must follow leisure. The access of the first is as discouraging, as the want of the latter; for work I must, in medicine, while I have powers."

Five years after this, 1801, he published a work in three volumes, octavo, entitled, "Hints to promote Beneficence, Temperance, and Medical Science." Under this comprehensive title, it is not improbable, is included much of what he originally proposed to treat of, namely, "the diseases of large towns and the means of preventing them."

Comparing the political condition of the United States with that of his own country and other European powers, he said of the latter: "Peace seems still distant, though distress of every kind stares Europe in the face; but nothing will stare it out of folly and pseudo-politics but the dread of famine and bankruptcy, both of which are so far advanced as to call aloud to sheathe the sword. You in America, by pocketing a few affronts, are securing political and moral benefits, which we are forfeiting by false honor and kingly pride."

The last letter that I find from Dr. Lettsom is dated September 27, 1797. This was about nine months before the severe illness of President Willard, with which he was seized in the summer of the following year, and which occasioned the only failure of his presiding at the public Commencement, during the twenty-three years of his presidency. This letter, besides being accompanied as usual with some literary gift, is filled mainly with laments on the sad ravages and impoverishments produced by the long continuance of European wars; his longings and his prayers of hope and faith

for coming peace; and his earnest wishes that the United States may be exempted from such evils, and from "entailing upon posterity debt and disgrace."

THOMAS BRAND HOLLIS was a constant correspondent of President Willard from the summer of 1783 to that of 1795. He was born in the year 1719, inherited the estate which descended from Thomas Hollis, the founder of the professorships, to his nephew, and, next, to the son of this nephew, by whose last will all his real estate, and, after the payment of a few legacies, all the personal estate, was bequeathed to Thomas Brand, who, as may naturally be supposed, added to his own name the name of Hollis. The bequest took him entirely by surprise. It does not appear that there was any relationship between them, either by birth or affinity. In the year 1748 he accompanied Hollis in his travels on the Continent, during a period of eighteen months or more. Previously to this he had been through an academical course of education at Glasgow, and studied law at the Inner Temple. His benefactor died in 1774; and Thomas Brand, sympathizing as he had done with his "excellent friend," Thomas Hollis, in his lifetime, regarded it alike as a pleasure, a privilege, and a duty to employ the wealth not of his own acquiring with enlarged beneficence in the cause of wide humanity, as if pertaining to the inheritance itself, by a predestined but not unwelcome necessity.

Soon after the death of Hollis, Thomas Brand began to make preparations for the Memoirs of his deceased friend, and prevailed upon Archdeacon Blackburn to compile the materials and write the work; which he did, and it was completed, and published in two quarto

volumes in the year 1780. For the favor conferred Mr. Brand Hollis presented to the Archdeacon one thousand pounds. The work was printed and gratuitously distributed by Hollis at his own expense, and a copy was sent by him for the library of Harvard College, and also one for the American Academy.

In a letter to President Willard, September 3, 1783, he said : "I beg leave to commit to your protection the Memoirs of my late excellent friend, Thomas Hollis, that they may be honored by being deposited in the library of Harvard College, the interest and prosperity of which he was always desirous to promote. . . . As he was a declared and generous friend to the civil and religious liberties of America, how would he now have rejoiced to have known that his opinions of the Americans were well founded, and that their efforts have been gloriously crowned with success. . . . The calamities of an unjust war will soon be repaired, and America, profiting by experience of former ages and by generous plans of education, will rise superior and show the world what men should be." He took a peculiar interest in the political movements and the infant civil institutions of this country, in proof of which I here subjoin a few more extracts from his letters.

Politics have a place in almost every letter. He thanked his correspondent for sending him a copy of the Constitution of the United States. "The only point," he said, "of which I have some doubt, is whether it would not have been safer to have rendered it impossible for the President to be re-elected or continued. The danger of power is so great, and the increase of it so natural and almost consequential, that too

much care cannot be taken ; and the only security is by rotation."

Often he evinces great sagacity in his remarks.

"The world is young, and much remains yet to be learned. From the Americans we expect much, as you have advantages Europe never had. You have our experiences to work with, and our follies and vices, seeing the consequences, to avoid.

"I trust we shall not be disappointed if riches do not pour in upon you too fast before the wisdom of government directs them to their proper end. Your good friends, the English, are endeavoring to prevent it as much as possible ; in that, perhaps, they are not your enemies."

"I hope the Americans will never raise taxes from the Post-Office, — no more than is necessary to defray the expenses of carriage of letters ; every other charge will operate as a license upon the press, increase the expense of printing, and prevent the communication of sentiments which are the life and soul of a republic. Look around you and see how the press is burdened, watched, and cramped in the European States."

"The Federal Constitution, of which you have sent me a copy, we have had printed here in all the papers, and have done the same in the country. Most people approve of it ; but some are fearful lest the power of the Senate should be too great over the President."

Had he lived long enough, he would have perceived that in this case, as in many other political theories and speculations, the prophecies of the wise are naught, and their confident prescience of certain issues and results is

reversed. It was suggested in the Convention for framing the Constitution, that the power given to the President in appointments to office was not sufficiently guarded; that he might from favoritism or selfishness abuse the power, and supersede faithful and competent officers. Mr. Madison stilled the alarm, by holding out the power of impeachment as the antagonist power to the abuse of removing such officers without cause. He was afterwards Jefferson's Secretary of State and witnessed the beginning of the abuse, which has degenerated into common usage.

In the year 1787, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred by the government of Harvard College on Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Society and Antiquarian Society of London. He inclosed a letter addressed to the President and government, gratefully acknowledging this honor, in a private letter to Dr. Willard, in which last he said: "In my own country I have declined all distinguished honors by which the public could reap no advantage, and this in particular which was offered me; but I shall esteem this mark of regard as an approbation of my intention to serve the interest of virtue, freedom, and learning."

"To the President and Members of Harvard University," the terms in which he addressed the Board that conferred the degree, he wrote: "I had the honor to receive from his Excellency, John Adams,* a diploma from the University of Harvard, conferring on me the honor of Doctor of Laws. I receive it with the greatest

* Then arrived at London as Minister at the Court of St. James.

respect, and esteem it as a great honor given to me by so illustrious a University. . . . I shall preserve this instrument among my choicest papers, as a testimonial of your partiality to him, who, wishing success to all your intentions, is, with all due respect and esteem, your most obliged, humble servant."

Several of his letters to Dr. Willard acknowledge the receiving of letters from him, and of pamphlets and tracts pertaining to the times, and sometimes requesting some particular favor in this way; as, for instance, "I shall be obliged to you for your sermon at the ordination of Mr. McKeen. There are parts of that pamphlet that shall be made use of." This sermon was delivered "May 11th, 1785, at the ordination of the Rev. Joseph McKeen to the pastoral office of the First Church of Christ in Beverly, and printed by Samuel Hall in Salem." The text is from 2 Timothy i. 7, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, of love, and of a sound mind." In the footnotes there are criticisms upon the Greek words translated fear, power, love, and sound mind, which are printed in English letters. Hollis noticed this, and had observed the same poverty of the American press in other publications, and conjectured that, at the University, "it was owing to the loss of the Greek types at the fire [of Harvard Hall], which have not been replaced, and I hear there is no printing-office in the University."

In almost every letter Hollis gave notice of books sent or about to be sent to the College, and sometimes to the American Academy, committed to the care of Dr. Willard. Thus, in the letter above mentioned, he

said : " I have this day, 4th July, ever to be celebrated and had in remembrance, made up a box of books various and mixed ; but all I hope will have their use. The larger number is for the library of Harvard College ; a small number for the American Academy, as more peculiarly for their purposes ; which I desire you will present and make acceptable to both the societies. I request you will receive a small parcel for your own amusement, as directed to you. If among the others there are duplicates, they can be exchanged." Elsewhere, speaking of duplicates, he restricts his meaning of the word to two copies of the same edition ; for at another time, when he sent a collection of books for the College, he said : " If among them there should be *real* duplicates, I should wish they might be exchanged for others. Some time ago the British Museum parted with their duplicates, but did not consider that no book is a duplicate but a fac-simile, and they parted with different editions ; and you know that sometimes a different edition may prove some point. Besides, a public library should have every book if possible."

In the choice of books to enrich the library of Harvard College, his affections led him to group with scientific and literary authors those who defended free institutions of government and personal liberty, civil and religious. Thus, when he began his gift of books (followed by so many and so various) with the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, he said : " Honest Andrew Marvel accompanies my friend Thomas Hollis. A place in your College for so excellent a republican will be a proper honor to his worth and memory, and no doubt agreeable to the curators of your library." A republican truly he was ;

a stern but not vindictive patriot ; a disinterested patriot, who would receive no gift of place or money from the Second Charles, although, immediately after each was refused, he was obliged to borrow a guinea from a friend.

The letter of the latest date which I find is that of 26th May, 1795. This, and some preceding, give significant indications that he had begun to realize some of the sorrows of old age in the loss of contemporary and much-loved friends; and the valedictions breathe a tenderness of feeling that belongs to a thoughtful man whose future is reduced to a brief term of years. In the letter above mentioned he spoke of having recently sent some books for the College and some tracts for his correspondent; but that, being indisposed at that time, he could not write, though now recovered.

If not at the time of which he here speaks, it was soon after, that he was seized with a fit of apoplexy from which he recovered. In June, 1791, he spoke feelingly of the loss he had sustained by the death of Dr. Price. In February, 1792, he wrote briefly, and concluded abruptly, "Farewell and be happy." In June of the same year in like manner he wrote, and closed, "Health and happiness attend you." And in his last letter he expresses his earnest wish that his correspondent "in particular may be blessed with health and good spirits to the end of life."

From this correspondence, by its long continuance and constancy and freedom, aided by mutual sympathies, there seems to have grown a familiar acquaintance between the parties, as great as can be conceived without meeting and conversing face to face. At its

close Hollis had reached the seventy-fifth year of his age, and died in 1804, the year also of President Willard's decease. In his last will he still remembered Harvard College, and bequeathed to it one hundred pounds sterling, "to be laid out in Greek and Latin classics for the use and benefit of the library."

Of one more only of President Willard's correspondents shall I make mention, and of this one on account of the peculiarity of the circumstances from which it began. In the year 1793, or 1794, I believe it was, a daughter of the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, of Revolutionary and judicial memory, called on the President's eldest daughter, with whom she was familiarly acquainted, accompanied by Sarah Thompson, who made such an agreeable impression upon the family that they sought her further acquaintance. She was the only daughter of BENJAMIN THOMPSON, who, in the early period of the war of the Revolution, went to England, where, in the course of time, he received military distinctions and knighthood; and afterwards, in Germany, the title of Count Rumford. It was in the infancy of his daughter that he left America, and not until she had arrived at adult age was there, I believe, any direct communication between them. He sailed for England in January, 1776; and after his arrival he was variously employed, chiefly under the patronage of government, until 1784, when he obtained leave to visit the continent of Europe, and did not return to London until after an absence of eleven years, namely, in September, 1795. It was then, I suppose, feeling in a manner at home again, that he requested his daughter to come to him, and that she, in her letters, before she embarked,

had made known to her father the kindness she had received from President Willard and his family, which prompted him to address to Mr. Willard the following letter :—

“London, 25th March, 1796.

“REVEREND SIR,—The affectionate manner in which my daughter speaks of you, and of your kindness to her, has shown me how good you have been to her ; and though I have not the pleasure of being personally known to you, I cannot help taking the liberty of writing to you, to express the obligations I feel myself under to you for your friendly attentions to my child. Though I have not the honor of being personally acquainted with you, I am no stranger to the respectable character you bear, and nothing could have been more pleasing to me than to find that my daughter had found means to attract your notice, and to merit your approbation and friendship.

“Excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with this letter, and do me the justice to believe that it is with much esteem and regard I have the honor to be, sir,
your much obliged and most obedient servant,

“RUMFORD.”

To this letter Mr. Willard replied, and Miss Thompson was probably the bearer. A second letter from the Count was received by him after Miss Thompson's arrival, dated Munich, 15th February, 1797, in which he says :—

“Being charged by my daughter to forward to you the inclosed letter, I cannot help adding a line,

to return you my sincere thanks for your very friendly letter. I ought, perhaps, at the same time, to ask your pardon for the liberty I have taken in sending, under cover to Mr. Pearson,* a power of attorney to you and my friend Colonel Baldwin, authorizing you to make a transfer for me of five thousand dollars American three per cent. stock to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

"I feel myself highly flattered by the approbation you are pleased to express of my essays. It has ever been my most ardent wish to be of some use to mankind, to be able to flatter myself, when I am going out of the world, that I have lived to some useful purpose. And I feel very grateful to Providence, for the many opportunities I have had of pursuing with effect my favorite object. There are few persons, I believe, who have passed through a greater variety of interesting scenes than myself, and no one surely can feel more deeply, more intensely, everything that is interesting and affecting in the occurrences of life.

"My daughter, who will never forget your kindness to her, desires me to present her best respects. Permit me to join with her in thanks, and to assure you that I shall never cease to be, with unfeigned regard and esteem, my dear sir, yours, most sincerely."

At a meeting of the Academy, subsequent to the transfer of the stock according to the request in this letter, a committee was appointed, of which President Willard was first named, "to take up the subject of

* Professor Pearson, who was then Corresponding Secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Count Rumford's donation, and report at the next meeting."

The following official communication from Rumford, directed to Mr. Willard, was received soon after its date.

“*Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, London,*
1st June, 1800.

“SIR,— By direction of the Managers of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, I have the honor to transmit to the President of Harvard University the inclosed publication, in which an account is given of an establishment lately formed in this metropolis for promoting useful knowledge.

“I have likewise the honor, in conformity to the instructions I have received, to request that the heads of the University may be assured of the sincere desire of the Managers of the Royal Institution of Great Britain to cultivate a friendly correspondence with them, and to co-operate with them in all things that may contribute to the advancement of science, and to the general diffusion of knowledge of such new and useful discoveries and mechanical improvements as may tend to increase the enjoyments, and promote the industry, happiness, and prosperity of mankind.

“I have the honor to be, with much respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“RUMFORD.

“TO THE REV. DR. WILLARD, *President of Harvard University, Massachusetts.*”

It was by Rumford's perseverance and influence chiefly that this institution was founded, "under the immediate patronage of the king." "The inclosed publication" mentioned in the above letter contains, besides the constitution and organization for the society, thirteen subjects for the consideration of the same number of committees, each severally; subjects which give unmistakable evidence of the handiwork of Rumford.

Last and largest of Count Rumford's benefactions for the application of science to matters of general public utility — which was his ruling passion — was the provision made in his will for founding in Harvard University "a new institution and professorship, in order to teach by regular courses of academical and public lectures, accompanied with proper experiments, the utility of the physical and mathematical sciences for the improvement of the useful arts, and for the extension of the industry, prosperity, happiness, and well-being of society."

Here is field enough to be explored by the most industrious, during the longest lifetime, for acquiring the history of the past, pertaining to the donor's purpose, for experiments, discoveries, and inventions, and for communicating and perpetuating the important results. This foundation, which had its beginning nearly forty years ago, is now, I believe, by means of its reversionary annuities and the residuum of the Count's estate bequeathed to the College, richer than that of any other professorship.

In his early life he was restless and ambitious, without a fixed purpose; but he was saved from wasted energies by his ardor for intellectual self-improvement.

Elsewhere I believe I have mentioned his attendance on a course of lectures by Professor Winthrop of Harvard College on the several departments of Natural Philosophy, which he duly appreciated; and he was grateful for the privilege. At a later period, being at Cambridge when the College halls were converted into barracks, he showed his affection for the institution by giving his aid in removing the library to a place of safety. After his noble deeds of philanthropy in Europe at middle age, and his zeal in devising and forwarding useful and economical improvements in the art of living, being past the meridian of life, his thoughts turned homeward to his own, his native land, and directed his beneficence to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, for its agency in carrying it into effect. At the same time his grateful and friendly feeling had been deeply drawn to President Willard, whose kindness to his "child" he said he should never cease to remember, and to whom he transmitted a power to transfer his charitable gift to the Academy. And in the evening of his life, his thoughts still turned homeward and to the College, some of whose benefits he had received; for whose late head he cherished a grateful and respectful remembrance, and whose guidance he doubtless knew was still intrusted to wise and faithful men.

CHAPTER IX.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

His Manuscript Greek Grammar unfinished.— Gloucester Greek Grammar introduced.— Foundation of the Medical School of the University.— Dr. Ezekiel Hersey's Bequest.— Additions to the same.— John Warren, Benjamin Waterhouse, and Aaron Dexter, the first Professors.— Ward Nicholas Boylston a Benefactor of the School by Donations of Books and Funds for Medical Prize Dissertations.— Visit of Washington to the University, 1789; his Reception; his Death, 1799; Public Exercises on the Occasion at the University.

NOT many years after he entered on his office of President, Mr. Willard devoted what time he could redeem from his various avocations to the composing of a Greek Grammar. In connection with this purpose he was led to extensive and critical reading in his favorite language, comprising the works of the most distinguished Grecian historians, orators, poets, philosophers, and rhetoricians; of which his numerous citations, drawn from them and fairly written out, exemplifying dialectic and idiomatic forms and the meaning and uses of particles, and illustrating syntactic rules, exceptions, and peculiarities, afford abundant evidence. He advanced far in his purpose before his health began to fail; but about that time he suspended the work, and was so well

satisfied with the Gloucester Greek Grammar, which had then been published, that he appears to have abandoned his own, leaving it incomplete, and but partially arranged and copied. The Gloucester Greek Grammar was therefore adopted in the year 1799. The College, however, was dependent upon such printers and publishers as furnished copies until the year 1828, when the first Cambridge edition was published, with additions and corrections by the editor, John S. Popkin, the learned Eliot Professor of Greek Literature.

Here it is not amiss for me to snatch a sentence or two from a note of Dr. Popkin to one of his lectures, casual as it was, containing a pleasing tribute from himself, a learned man and a man of various learning, to his learned elder, in years gone by ; a tribute from the heart, unfeigned, and in form characteristic of him who bestowed it. "President Willard was a very learned man, 'a rare old Grecian,' a deep and practical mathematician and astronomer, and of very general reading and knowledge. And what is more and better and greater, he was, I believe, a sincere, honest, and good man. His grace was in the inner man, and not all on the outside. But his dignity was in both. I had the honor of serving under him several years as a Tutor ; and he did me the honor to express his regret, when in his sickness I took a sudden start in another direction."

Finding that my father's manuscript Greek Grammar, after his decease, was in the unfinished condition that I have described, I laid it aside, to be preserved as a memorial of his learning and critical reading of the Grecian classics, and to be disposed of thereafter as

should seem due from me as a testimony of my filial love and respect for the author. My youngest brother Joseph, who was in his seventh year when our father died, several years after he had completed his academic and professional studies, received from me the manuscript, and while in his possession he suggested to me his desire to show it to my friend and his, the Hon. John Pickering, for his perusal and opinion of its merits, which was accordingly done. Mr. Pickering kindly complied with our wishes in this respect, as appears from the following letter addressed to Joseph Willard, Esq.

“ DEAR SIR,— I return the sheets of the manuscript Greek Grammar, composed by your much respected father many years ago. Under his presidency I passed my college life [1792 – 96]; and during that period we often used to hear of his being engaged in the work, and desired to have it for our classes. His Grammar, so far as I am informed, was the first attempt made in this country to write a Greek Grammar in the English language; nor had there been any one published in England, in our common language, worthy of notice for the purpose of instruction.

“ The work of your father, without making pretensions to originality, (and what Grammar can at this period of the world make such a claim?) was concise, perspicuous, and in advance of the general state of Greek studies at that time; and if it had been completed and published, there can be no doubt it would have had a sensible effect on the cultivation of that branch of study. I hope it will still be preserved in some public library

as a monument of the learning and practical views which distinguished its excellent and lamented author.

“ I am, dear sir, with great regard, yours,

“ JOHN PICKERING.

“ *Boston, August 28th, 1838.*”

The Grammar, in the same condition in which he left it, together with the above letter, is deposited in the library of Harvard College.

A few months after Mr. Willard's inauguration, namely, on the 16th of May, 1782, the President and Fellows passed a series of resolutions for the founding of a Medical School as a department of the University. In their determination to begin the work, they did not conceal their poverty. They had neither anatomical preparations, nor chemical apparatus, nor a medical library, nor funds for procuring either.* Generous they were in their promises, but wary in the conditions ; though significant in the terms in which these conditions were couched. They promised that “ the library should be enriched with the most approved authors in all the branches *as soon as circumstances will permit* ; that a complete anatomical and chemical apparatus, and a set of anatomical preparations, with a theatre for dissections and chemical operations, should be provided *as soon as ways and means can be devised for raising sufficient sums for their encouragement.*”

* The only direct encouragement for commencing the work was that derived from the bequest of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey of £1,000, in the year 1770, paid and placed on interest in 1772, exclusively for the support of a Professor of Anatomy and Physic.

Hope has its degrees, and with the timid it is apt to take its lowest gradation, rising little above despair; but with the resolute its course is upward, and onward, ascending from uncertainty and suspense to expectation, and from expectation to confidence. On the contrary, not seldom

“Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win
By fearing to attempt.”

But the men of whom I speak were men of a determined spirit, men of strong inward will, which bade them to act, saying to each, —

“Incipe.
Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet.”

They severally obeyed, and united in measures for carrying their purpose into effect.

One thousand pounds lawful money was a generous bequest of Ezekiel Hersey, “the interest thereof to be appropriated towards the support of a Professor of Anatomy and Physic.” But he did not regard himself as the only man born among us for such beneficence. Small, however, as was this sum for the foundation of a professorship, and intended only for one functionary, the Corporation, paradoxical as it may seem, gained strength for the institution by its division. It was determined to choose two Professors, bearing the prænomens Hersey, one of Anatomy, and one of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, who should in due time share the benefit; and to allow them for the present to receive such fees from students as would encourage them in their work.

In arriving at this result, namely, the resolution to choose Professors, opportunity and strong temptation had come in aid of their wishes. A young man who received his first degree in the University at Cambridge in the year 1771; who while an undergraduate had been the leader of a small company of amateur associates in his class, for the study of anatomy; who in less than four years afterwards was charged with the surgical care of the wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill, and in the following month, under the direction of General Washington, was appointed Hospital-Surgeon; and who, after following the army in the medical staff for two years, was appointed, in 1777, superintending surgeon of the military hospitals in Boston,—had now returned to the embrace of his friends, having added to the high reputation he bore at his exit experimental knowledge and skill as an anatomist and surgeon from his official station and consequent opportunities and exigencies in the army. Such was the career of JOHN WARREN at the close of the twenty-fourth year of his age. He soon became, by the acknowledgment of his professional brethren, unrivalled in surgery, and made anatomy his primary study, so that in the year 1780, at the solicitation of his medical friends, he was induced to give a course of lectures with dissections for their benefit; but *privately*, for fear of the multitude. These lectures were repeated in the following year, and again in 1782, when the Senior Class of Harvard College were allowed to attend them. After it was determined to fill the professorship, “President Willard requested Dr. Warren to furnish a sketch of a medical institu-

tion." * The choice of him, indeed, as the Professor of Anatomy, had been a matter well understood, and the establishment of the institution was hastened probably with reference to this individual.

BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE, elected Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, had enjoyed to a rare degree the privilege and advantages of foreign travel and study previous to the establishment of the medical department in the University. I take his own account as I find it in the preface of his book, entitled "An Essay on Junius and his Letters." "After being under the instruction of an eminent practitioner of physic several years, I embarked in the early part of the year 1775, at my native place, Newport, R. I., in the last ship that escaped the interdicted port of Boston, and was consigned by my family to Dr. Fothergill, in London, for further improvement. He was a relation on my mother's side. He sent me, in the autumn of the same year, to Edinburgh, where I remained nine months, and then returned to the house of my patron, in which I resided about three years, attending various lectures expressly on or connected with my profession; also the hospitals, and occasionally some of Fothergill's own practice. In the latter part of 1778, he sent me to Leyden, to acquire, as he smilingly said, 'a little of the Dutch phlegm.' To that renowned University I was attached four academical years, making excursions, in the four months' vacation of every year, to England, France, and else-

* This, I believe, was furnished accordingly, and substantially adopted.

where." At Leyden, in due time, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

He found at Leyden the Hon. John Adams, who resided there, nine miles from the Hague, more than a year before he was acknowledged as Minister. During this time Dr. Waterhouse made one of his family, living, together with the two sons of Mr. Adams, in the same house. One of these sons was John Quincy.

Dr. Waterhouse returned to his native place in 1782, in season to be singled out for the Professorship of the Theory and Practice of Physic. In the theory he was doubtless very learned. He was also (I know not in what year) elected Professor of Natural History in the College at Providence, R. I. His lectures on botany he delivered to many successive classes in the Senior year at Harvard College, a voluntary offering. They afforded much entertainment to the students, besides the scientific instruction they imparted. In his style there was great vivacity and compass of expression, with the added attraction of anecdote and humor, all which combined made the lectures very popular, as the young men were wont to style them.*

* The crowning glory of Dr. Waterhouse's professional life was that of introducing vaccine inoculation into the United States, and of putting it to the test in his own family. In the year 1799, Dr. Jenner, of Gloucestershire, England, having discovered the preventive power of vaccination against the contagion of small-pox, was indefatigable in his efforts to extend his blessings everywhere; and in the United States, through Dr. Lettsom, a correspondent of Dr. Waterhouse, he first of all communicated the discovery to the latter, who said that when he was in England he had never seen Dr. Jenner nor heard his name. Dr.

The fund of the Hersey Professorships afterwards received increases, chiefly from the same family ; namely, by a bequest of Dr. Abner Hersey, who died in 1786, of five hundred pounds ; by another bequest of about the same amount in the will of Dr. John Cuming, who died in 1788 ; and by a bequest additional to that of her late husband, Ezekiel Hersey, by Sarah Derby, who had married a second time, and again become a widow. She died in 1790, and bequeathed one thousand pounds,

Waterhouse received from him full details "of the nature, the symptoms, and effects of the *cow-pox* [as it was then called], as well in its original state as in its progress and operation on the human system ; together with colored engravings representing the disease in all its phases." The late Hon. James Lloyd, in a biographical memoir of his father, Dr. James Lloyd, says that, "immediately after the receipt of these communications, Dr. Waterhouse submitted them to Dr. Lloyd, with whom he had long been in habits of intimate acquaintance, and that the latter, fully persuaded of the magnitude of the discovery, promoted in various ways the exertions to introduce the practice of vaccination into general use in the United States." Others, again, were incredulous, and in the progress of the experiment, as it was regarded, Dr. Waterhouse was by some accused of a want of professional generosity in the distribution of the vaccine matter. Without any distinct recollections of the circumstances of the case, I can say merely, that there sprung up a very ill feeling between him and some other physicians, which had its origin in this new field of his labors. Thirty years afterwards he spoke of his early sacrifices in the cause, and of his ultimate triumph, in this wise : "I willingly sacrificed my private business to this great work. For seven years I defended this salutiferous practice in its disputed march through a host of enemies, till it obtained a triumph so complete, that throughout New England it is rare, very rare, to meet an American wearing in his face the marks of small-pox." — Preface to Junius and his Letters.

limited like that of her first husband, namely, "towards the support of a Professor of Anatomy and Physic, and for that use only."

As yet there was no fund for the support of a Professor of Chemistry. But in 1791, William Erving, of whom Dr. Dexter, the Professor of Chemistry, was the chosen physician and personal friend, bequeathed one thousand pounds to the Corporation of the College "for the sole use and purpose of enlarging the salary of the Professor of Chemistry, who is to receive the annual interest of it." The professorship consequently received the name of the donor, subject to his imperative provision. And now, 1791, all the income of all the bequests was appropriated, as it was intended to be at some future time by the devisors, namely, towards the support of the Professors; while in the mean time the amount of Ezekiel Hersey's bequest had become more than double the original sum by accumulation of interest.

Residence in Cambridge seems to have been for a while regarded as an indispensable condition of receiving any salary from the small fund in reserve for two medical professors; for until the Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic took up his abode there, 1787, neither of them received any part of the income of the fund. This was doubtless understood from the beginning, and was grounded, probably, in part, on the strong feeling that the department should not have the appearance of a mere accidental appendage of the University. For the same reason, it may be supposed, it was, that all the courses of lectures were required to be held in the College halls, where the examinations also

were held and the degrees were conferred. It was, indeed, a great sacrifice of time and comfort, for example, on the part of Dr. Warren, to go from Boston to Cambridge, almost daily, for about a quarter part of the year, to meet his class, sometimes in very inclement weather, with the alternative of crossing Charlestown Ferry, or of making the journey, as it was sometimes called, through Roxbury and Brookline to the Colleges.

After three years, however, this trouble was over ; and a drive from Boston of four miles and a quarter, over Charles River Bridge, to Cambridge, seems to those of us who remember Dr. Warren's magical speed in everything, without the confusion of hurry, to have been for him no formidable undertaking.

It was a pleasing thing to President Willard, just after passing the threshold of his new abode, and pausing awhile to learn what was doing and what was to be done in the field of his labors, to share with his respected associates, and to preside over their deliberations, in establishing this new and important department of the University. In common with the public voice, he regarded Dr. Warren as unequalled among his professional brethren in the knowledge and practical use of surgery and anatomy, and in the power of imparting this knowledge ; a power heightened by self-education and by self-reliance, a power superadded to that derived from his limited study of books by means of minute examination of the human frame in all its parts and mysterious combinations. In the army he had indeed employed many of his leisure hours in the study of the French language, and the reading of such books of anatomy and surgery as he could procure from the

French surgeons; and when at home again and in his dissecting-room, he had read, so to speak, the whole body of anatomy in the original form, as it came from the hand of Deity; mapping and engraving upon his memory the structure of every part and its relative position, until the whole was indelibly fixed there for permanent use. Written notes were never seen in his lecture-room; nor was any embarrassment ever perceived in the lecturer for the want of them. Probably he had none touching the subject of the lecture. Dr. James Thacher, the author of the "American Medical Biography" (and of many other very valuable works), says, in his interesting sketch of Dr. Warren's life, that "he never wrote out a course of lectures; though he seems to have made a beginning, but afterwards abandoned the plan, from its being found unnecessary."

President Willard became strongly attached to Dr. Warren, from the time that the first movement was made to secure his services in the anatomical department, until the death of the former. Himself a patriot, distinguished among men of the like vocation, he admired the heroic virtues of Warren, whose name itself had a charm carrying back the memory to his elder brother Joseph, one of the first martyrs of the Revolutionary contest. But the deep personal affection of the former followed and adhered to the distinguished Professor in the walks of peace; an affection constantly strengthened and confirmed by the genial temper, the benevolence and humanity of the latter, which, united in close alliance with his personal, domestic, social, and professional virtues, gave him an elevation above the reach of envy, and a claim to admiration which could be withheld by none.

Feebly endowed as the institution was, it grew in favor with the public, and the classes gradually increased from year to year. The same Professors remained in office, performing their respective duties, unaided by colleagues or adjuncts, during Dr. Willard's presidency. Even the academical titular honor of their profession, *Medicinæ Doctor*, was not conferred upon them until the year 1786. Of the classes that attended the lectures, no medical degree, as I can find, was conferred until 1788, and this was the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. From the year 1788 to 1810, inclusive, it was conferred upon thirty individuals, and it may be on two or three more, whose names have escaped me in counting. At the expiration of this time it appeared that the medical school at Philadelphia was conferring the degree of Doctor of Medicine, dispensing with the minor degree, on those who had attended the courses required ; and the Corporation of Harvard College, at the request of the Medical Professors, wisely made the corresponding leap. I say wisely ; for, while every half-taught pretender and quack who claimed to be a physician called himself a doctor, and by public courtesy was addressed as such, it was rather humiliating to a graduate of a distinguished medical school to be known only by a lower title, although conferred by the highest authority. And then the interval between the two degrees, when the claim to the higher and common title of address, if needed at all, was most needed, was of unreasonable duration ; — seven years, I infer from the examples (of which there are three only) of those who took the higher degree in course. These were John Fleet, William Ingalls, and James Jackson. All who

had received only the inferior degree were in 1811 declared Doctors of Medicine. From that time this degree has been conferred annually on a large portion of those who have attended the required courses of lectures.

The promise that the "library should be enriched with the works of the most approved medical authors as soon as circumstances shall permit" was kept by the Corporation, though coming far short of their wishes and hopes; and it was not until the closing year of the century that there were great additions. In the year 1800 very liberal additions were made to it by Ward Nicholas Boylston,* nephew of Nicholas Boylston, who founded the Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory. The former inherited the spirit of his deceased kinsman, and was forward in furthering the purpose of his uncle in establishing and giving celebrity to the department of rhetoric and oratory, the fund for which, namely, a bequest of fifteen hundred pounds, had been accumulating for thirty years.

Mr. Ward N. Boylston first turned his attention to the medical department, and finding the great want of books, "he laid the foundation of the Boylston Medical Library" by the donation of a well-selected collection

* Ward Nicholas Boylston was the son of Benjamin and Mary Hallowell, his mother being the sister of Nicholas Boylston. When he had reached his majority, namely, in 1770, in compliance with the wishes of his uncle, he changed his paternal name to Nicholas Boylston, retaining his given name Ward. In 1773 he sailed from Boston, his native place, spent two years in foreign travel, arrived in England in 1775, engaged in mercantile business in London, and returned to Boston in 1800.

of approved works, consisting of more than eleven hundred volumes." At the same time he secured to the College an annuity, which, in 1803, he converted into a permanent stock of five hundred dollars, the interest of which was to be applied to the purchase of such books on medical subjects as should be thought most useful by the Professors of those branches, and for printing such dissertations as might have a prize awarded to them, under a provision made by his deed in that year.*

From the year 1800 until the year of the President's death, 1804, inclusive, Mr. Boylston was a frequent visitor at the house of the former, and doubtless conferred with him freely about his plans of beneficence in relation to the University. He was very communicative, and it having fallen to my lot to be chosen Librarian of the College in the year 1800, I saw Mr. Boylston often at the library and at the President's house during those four years, and was a witness to his ardor in his plans for promoting the advancement of literature and science in the seminary.

Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, late College Treasurer, in his "Sketch of the History of Harvard College," after speaking of the establishment of the medical institution, says: "Another important addition to the usefulness of the College was made under the presidency and influence of Dr. Willard, by the establishment of a system of prizes, that, from the mode in which it was begun and in which it has been uniformly conducted, has produced consequences of the most favorable character to the institution as well as to its pupils."

* Quincy's History of Harvard College.

James Bowdoin, who had been a member of the Corporation from the year 1779 to 1785, and resigned his seat in the latter year, on account of the arduous duties of the office of Governor, to which he had been elected, died in 1790, and made a bequest to the University in the following terms: "I give to my Alma Mater, the University of Cambridge, four hundred pounds, the interest thereof to be annually applied in the way of premiums, for the advancement of useful and polite literature among the residents, as well graduates as undergraduates, of the University; the premiums to be paid in such manner as shall be best adapted to excite a spirit of emulation among such students." The performances entitled to such premiums to be read in public by their respective authors, who shall deliver a fair copy of the same to be lodged in the library; such copies to be written on quarto paper of the same size, that such of them as shall merit it may be bound together in handsome volumes, and lodged in the library. "The President and Corporation of the University to give forth the subjects, judge of the performances, and determine everything concerning this donation in such manner as they shall apprehend most conducive to the design of it."

Accordingly the Corporation, in 1794, agreed upon the necessary details, such as the subjects, the number and amount of prizes, and the mode of secreting the names of the authors until the prizes should be adjudged. The subjects were announced in that year or in the following, and the prizes were adjudged to two graduates of 1794, namely, to Timothy Alden and David Kendall, who are both dead; and to two members of the Senior

Class who were graduated in 1796, namely, William Wells, who has for many past years been a citizen of Cambridge, and who has numbered his fourscore years, still enjoying bodily and mental activity and cheerful serenity in domestic life, and Leonard Woods, late Professor in the Theological Seminary at Andover.

I well remember the reading of these prize dissertations, in the College Chapel, on successive evenings after evening prayers. The novelty of the occasion excited a good deal of attention to it among the students.

Whether the President had received any intimation from Governor Bowdoin of his intentions in regard to his bequest, and its purpose, during his lifetime, I am not able to say; but from the intimacy that long existed between them before the Governor's death, it is not improbable that he was apprised of the purpose. With the plan of Mr. Boylston he was made acquainted in its origin, and progress, and issue.

In the autumn of 1789, George Washington, President of the United States, in pursuing his tour through New England, visited Cambridge and its University. He left the city of New York on the morning of Thursday, the 15th of October, and passed the following Sunday in New Haven. On Monday, he resumed his journey and continued it daily, on the great mail route through Hartford, Brookfield, and Worcester, arriving at Weston, about ten miles from Cambridge, on Friday evening, and at that place he lodged, and the next day breakfasted. Thus far he had probably planned his stages so as to reach Weston at the time in which he accomplished his purpose, using, as he must have done,

all possible diligence consistent with due regard to the curiosity, and the wish to manifest respect to him, which had been shown by the people in all the towns and villages through which he passed.

It appears by the record of the Corporation of Harvard College, at a meeting on the Friday before named, that he was expected at Cambridge on the next day ; and it was voted by this body to address the President of the United States in its official capacity, at such time as shall suit his convenience. Soon after breakfast he started from Weston, and was met by a troop of horse from Cambridge, which escorted him thither. His entrance into the village was by the road on which is situated the mansion that was his head-quarters in 1775–76, still unaltered, which he could not have looked upon without emotion, nor pass by without looking within and around it, and experiencing such feelings and reflections, mingling the present and the past, as others can but faintly imagine. His stay at the old head-quarters was necessarily short. The distance from it to the Cambridge Common, by the avenue which leads to the westerly part, is not many rods. At the termination of this avenue on the Common stood and still stands, in magnificent size and ramifications, the Washington Elm, as it is always called, in conformity with the traditional fact that it was on this spot that Washington first unsheathed his sword at the head of his troops, marshalled for the defence of the country.

There, then nine years of age, I distinctly remember sitting on the fence before the old house which still remains at the corner, near the tree, and seeing the majestic warrior mounted on a fitting steed, “ with all his

trim belonging," pass by. He was there saluted with a discharge of artillery under the direction of General Brooks, who met him at the head of about a thousand militia in their accustomed uniforms. So soon as propriety permitted, he left the training-field, the Common, which was in the same sterile and unadorned condition in which he had seen it thirteen years before, and proceeded to Harvard Hall. The College buildings which he had left thirteen years before as barracks, then about to be abandoned by his soldiers, he now saw cleansed and refitted for the use of learned Faculties, and for the residence of youth in training to take the places of their fathers. The governors of the College were doubtless assembled to receive him. There could be no embarrassment in the reception of the chief guest and those who accompanied him, of which number was Tobias Lear, who had become his private secretary and member of his household by the recommendation of Mr. Willard, and was therefore in a position to introduce the principals to each other. His visit must have been short; and time was wanting to enable him to extend it to the house of the President of the College. I think the ceremonial Address of the Corporation must have been delivered on Tuesday, October 27, of the following week, in Boston, as that appears to have been the day set apart by Washington to receive the addresses of public bodies; as, for instance, of the clergy of Boston, of the Cincinnati, and of the Governor and Council. That day corresponds with the date of the address and of the reply. At four o'clock of the same day a dinner was given at Faneuil Hall by the Governor and Council in honor of Washington, the chief

guest, at which the President of the College was present. The address and reply are here annexed, as they are recorded in the Corporation book of records.

“October 27, 1789.

“TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—

“Sir,— It is with singular pleasure that we, the President and Fellows of Harvard University in Cambridge, embrace the opportunity which your most acceptable visit to this part of the country gives us of paying our respects to the first magistrate of the United States.

“It afforded us the highest satisfaction to find this large and respectable nation unanimous in placing at the head of the new government the firm and disinterested patriot, the illustrious and intrepid soldier, who, during her struggles in the cause of liberty, braving every difficulty and danger in the field, under the smiles of a kind Providence, led her armies to victory and triumph, and finally established her freedom and independence. Nor were we less gratified when we found that the person whose military skill and exertions had been so happily succeeded, actuated by the same spirit of patriotism, did not decline the toilsome and arduous office; but, listening to the voice of his country, left the tranquil scenes of private life to secure those blessings we were in the utmost danger of losing. We were fully persuaded that the man, who, during so great a length of time, and in the most trying circumstances, had been accepted by the multitude of his brethren, would, in this new station, enjoy their entire confidence and insure their highest esteem. Nor have we been disappointed.

" Permit us, sir, to congratulate you on the happy establishment of the government of the Union, on the patriotism and wisdom which have marked its public transactions, and the very general approbation which the people have given to its measures. At the same time, sir, being fully sensible that you are strongly impressed with the necessity of religion, virtue, and solid learning for supporting freedom and good government, and fixing the happiness of the people upon a firm and permanent basis, we beg leave to recommend to your favorable notice the University intrusted to our care, which was early founded for promoting these important ends.

" When you took the command of the troops of your country, you saw the University in a state of depression,—its members dispersed, its literary treasures removed,—and the Muses fled from the din of arms then heard within its walls. Happily restored, in the course of a few months, by your glorious successes, to its former privileges, and to a state of tranquillity, it received its returning members, and our youth have since pursued without interruption their literary courses, and fitted themselves for usefulness in Church and State. The public rooms which you formerly saw empty, are now replenished with the necessary means of improving the human mind in literature and science; and everything within these walls wears the aspect of peace, so necessary to the cultivation of the liberal arts. While we exert ourselves, in our corporate capacity, to promote the great objects of this institution, we rest assured of your protection and patronage.

" We wish you, sir, the aid and support of Heaven

while you are discharging the duties of your most important station. May your success in promoting the best interests of the nation be equal to your highest wishes ; and after you shall have long rejoiced in the prosperity and glory of your country, may you receive the approbation of Him who ruleth among the nations.

“ JOSEPH WILLARD,
President of the University.”

“ TO THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD
UNIVERSITY, IN CAMBRIDGE :—

“ Gentlemen,— Requesting you to accept my sincere thanks for the Address with which you have thought proper to honor me, I entreat you to be persuaded of the respectful and affectionate consideration with which I receive it.

“ Elected by the suffrages of a too partial country to the eminent and arduous station which I now hold, it is peculiarly flattering to find an approbation of my conduct in the judgment of men whose reverend characters must sanction the opinions they are pleased to express.

“ Unacquainted with the expression of sentiments which I do not feel, you will do me justice by believing confidently in my disposition to promote the interests of science and true religion.

“ It gives me sincere satisfaction to learn the flourishing state of your literary republic. Assured of its efficiency in the past events of our political system, and of its further influence on those means which make the best support of good government, I rejoice that the direction of its measures is lodged with men whose ap-

proved knowledge, integrity, and patriotism give an unquestionable assurance of their success.

“ That the Muses may long enjoy a tranquil residence within the walls of your University, and that you, gentlemen, may be happy in contemplating the progress of improvement, through the various branches of your important departments, are among the most pleasing of my wishes and expectations.

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Ten years expired, and the scene in life's drama changed from a day of jubilee to a day of mourning. The death of Washington, 14 December, 1799, was followed by public demonstrations of grief in churches and in literary and benevolent institutions through all the New England States; and Harvard College took early notice of the event, as it appears from the following record:—

“ At a meeting of the President, Professors, and Tutors of Harvard College, December 28, 1799. The immediate government of the University, thoroughly penetrated by that affecting event which has so deeply impressed the public mind, and viewing it as a proper and due acknowledgment to the great ‘Author of every good and perfect gift’ to take a respectful and pious notice of the recall of distinguished characters for important purposes lent to earth; desirous also of joining with all good societies of men in lamenting the loss which the republic of letters as well as our common country has sustained; and wishing in particular that the University in Cambridge, which, in consequence of her being situated in the first scene of the American war, first

shared the protection, may not appear forgetful of the saviour of her country, and the patron of science,—

“*Voted*, That the following exercises, being introduced and concluded with prayer adapted to the mournful occasion, and intermixed with sacred music, instrumental and vocal, be publicly performed, in pious commemoration of the singular talents, eminent virtues, and unparalleled services of WASHINGTON THE GOOD.

“An introductory Address in Latin by the President. An Elegiac Poem in English by Washington Allston, a Senior Sophister. A Funeral Oration by Benjamin Marston Watson, a Senior Sophister. A Solemn and Pathetic Discourse by the Hollis Professor of Divinity,” Dr. Tappan.

The address of the President and the Discourse of the Hollis Professor, delivered 21 February, 1800, were printed. In a note following the names of Allston and Watson, it is remarked: “These two young gentlemen modestly declined giving copies of their performances for the press.”

The *Concio Breves a Præside* was judicious in its plan and execution, and composed in a style of classic purity and grace creditable to the University.

The Discourse of the Hollis Professor contains a brief analysis of the intellectual and moral qualities of Washington, as illustrated in his writings and by his acts, remarkable for its just discrimination; and it presents to the younger portion of his learned auditory a striking contrast between the heroes described by Homer and Virgil, and the Christian hero, “the hero of America.” The discourse was highly worthy of the

occasion ; but the implied promise of "a pathetic discourse" was not in good taste. "If you have tears, prepare to shed them now," is an unfortunate introduction for an orator, whether announced by himself or by the herald of his gifts.

By these remarks I do not mean to imply any lack of pathos in the discourse ; this would be unjust ; for it is both "solemn and pathetic" and eloquent also.

CHAPTER X.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

His Plan for increasing the Amount of Study requisite for Admission to College accomplished.—Changes in the Corporation occasioned by the Death or Resignation of Members.—John Lowell.—Thomas Cushing.—Oliver Wendell.—Eliphalet Pearson; his extra Services.—John Davis.—Lottery granted by the Legislature.—New College Building.—President Willard's Death.

THE last act of much importance for the purpose of adding to the value of an education at Harvard University, and which had for several years engaged the attention of the President, was that for increasing the qualifications for admission to the Freshman Class, and thus consequently increasing the means for greater advancement and more thoroughness in the course of study prescribed for the four years of undergraduates. This he lived to see accomplished in the year 1803, and accordingly gave notice to teachers of the additional studies which would be required for admission to College in the year fixed upon for the new regulations to go into operation, namely, 1805; which he did not live to see. The requirements were, that each candidate be thoroughly acquainted with, and strictly examined in, the Grammar of the Greek and Latin languages, Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Minora, the Greek Testament,

Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero's Select Orations, the rules of Arithmetic from Notation to the Single Rule of Three, and a compendium of Geography. The additions made to the former requirements were thorough preparation in Greek and Latin Grammar for a strict examination separate from the text-books ; Græca Minora ; Sallust ; Virgil's Bucolics and Georgics ; Arithmetic and Geography. Previously to this time a change had been made in the books of instruction used by the undergraduates. In the year 1787, Horace, Sallust, Cicero de Oratore, Homer, and Xenophon were introduced instead of Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Cæsar's Commentaries, and the Greek Testament, and the Latin and Greek classics, thus substituted for those before used, constituted the principal studies of the first three College years.

"The growth and prosperity of the University," says Professor Webber, "under the Presidency of Dr. Willard, bear ample testimony to his fidelity and solid talents. Considerable progress has been made in improving the system of instruction. The advantages for acquiring many of the branches of knowledge before taught have been increased, and sundry additional ones have been introduced." It is pleasing to be able to say further, that this growth has since been constant and proportionate to the means bestowed for its promotion by the friends of literature and science.

Of the gentlemen who composed the Corporation at the time of Mr. Willard's accession to the Presidency I have already spoken, and a similar brief notice is due to the successors of those who died or resigned during his continuance in office.

In 1784, JOHN LOWELL, then one of the Judges of the

Court of Appeals (appointed by the American Congress of 1781, of which he was a member), for the trial of all appeals from the Court of Admiralty, was chosen a Fellow of the Corporation as successor to Rev. Dr. Cooper deceased, and entered upon the duties of the office with the same energy and zeal and sound judgment that he manifested in the discharge of the duties pertaining to all the political and judicial offices with which he was successively intrusted. It was in the trying times of the College that he became a member of the Corporation, as I have shown in speaking of the pecuniary embarrassments of the College during several years after Mr. Willard became its President; and to Judge Lowell much praise was due for the aid received from him by the cautious and provident Treasurer, in surmounting all the difficulties of his trust,—a praise that was freely awarded to him. He was not only a fellow-worker in the Board, but eminently also a fellow-companion. Some men, good thinkers too, seem born to think silently, and to converse with themselves, until their thoughts are all matured; but Judge Lowell thought aloud, and the utterance seemed to come forth spontaneously. Never was there a more genial companion, one whose natural zeal was better tempered by kindness, whose ardor was more thoroughly subjected to candor, whose displeasure was more truly allied to that benevolence which imparts to the expression of displeasure the most efficient rebuke of its object. In his judicial capacity, he was a believer in the fundamental aphorism proclaimed by the representatives of the people of the United States in Congress assembled, that “all men are born free and equal”; that, so far from

being a "lie," there was in its meaning and intent an elevated truth, a truth which carried the thought upward to an impartial Creator, and found an instinctive response in the human understanding and the human heart. Such was his interpretation in all cases, and followed out in its legitimate consequence as applied to slavery ; namely, that no man could justly claim property in a fellow-man.

Judge Lowell was a devoted friend to the College, and at once engaged actively in attempts to enlarge its departments for the promotion and increase of knowledge. I learned for the first time in reading Mr. Quincy's History of Harvard University, that, "in January, 1784, an attempt was made by the Corporation to induce the Legislature of the Commonwealth to found a botanic garden, in connection with the University, in consequence of an offer made by the king of France through Mr. St. John, his Consul-General at New York, "to furnish such garden with every species of seeds and plants which may be requested from his royal garden." *

This was at the very time that Judge Lowell became

* Seven years afterwards, 1791, the President received a letter from John Peter Buck, dated at Hamburg, and soliciting a correspondence with him or the Professors of Botany (of which there were none), saying that he had studied it, together with natural history in general, "at the University at Upsal, under the care of the renowned Professor Chevalier Charles Linnée"; that he could furnish all kind of trees, plants, seeds, &c.; that Dr. Banks of England was a great friend of his, with whom he had great dealings in this way; that he had great connections, in all parts of Europe; that he could furnish all kinds of minerals,

a member of the Corporation, and the flattering offer of the royal ally of the United States which prompted the movement for aid from the Legislature fell in with the special taste and wishes of Mr. Lowell ; so that, if he were not foremost, he must have been earnest in this attempt to gain the patronage of government. Though it failed, it gave greater publicity to an object which he in particular continued to cherish. He did much to promote and to secure its final accomplishment, which was effected soon after his decease, in the year 1802.

I remember with what anxiety from day to day, during his last illness, my father, either in person or by message, sought to learn the state of his disease, and the hopes and fears of his physicians and family concerning the result ; and how deeply he was affected by the loss of so faithful a fellow-laborer, and so dear a personal friend ; mutual was their friendship, and strengthened, in its domestic character, by the intimacy between the female members of the respective families in their joyous youth, which cheered the elders of the household in either family whenever they met.

THOMAS CUSHING, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts under Governor Bowdoin, succeeded the latter

shells, fishes, stuffed birds, insects, dried plants, petrifacta, &c. He had in view to some extent a plan of exchange in specimens. But nothing resulted from his proposals. He said, courteously : " You 'll pardon me, reverend sir, the freedom I take in addressing you. I saw your name, as President of the University at Cambridge, in some American and English papers, and as I am informed of the great politeness of American gentlemen, I shall make no further apology, but recommending myself into your friendship and favor."

as a member of the Corporation at the beginning of 1786, but died in less than two years after his election. He had been distinguished in political life for popular gifts and personal influence, and was a representative in the Legislature of Massachusetts and Speaker of the House several years. In 1774, he was one of the delegates in Congress at Philadelphia, representing Massachusetts. After the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor, and was annually elected to this office until his death.

OLIVER WENDELL was chosen to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Cushing, in 1788, and remained in the Board twenty-four years. He had, at a former period, been Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, and, as in all cases among us where a man, after having held the office of justice of any court, becomes *functus officio*, he is, by common courtesy, styled Judge, so the title always adhered to Oliver Wendell. He was faithful in the office of a Fellow of the Corporation, having abundant leisure to perform any portion of business committed to him, and performing it cheerfully. He spent several of the last years of his life in Cambridge, where he died in 1818, six years after his resignation. He told me in 1812, that he had resigned, and had nominated his successor. Though what he called his nomination, as if it was literally his privilege, was one among the innocent *facetiae* in which he often indulged, yet the person named was the unanimous choice of the President and Fellows.

Edward Wigglesworth, the second Hollis Professor of Divinity, resigned his seat in the Corporation in 1792, on account of his infirm health, and JAMES BOWDOIN,

son of the former Governor Bowdoin, was chosen in his place, which he held until near the close of 1799. For two or three years preceding his resignation, he had been inconstant in attending the meetings, and his absences were ascribed to his political feelings, he being a solitary Anti-Federalist at the Board when politics had assumed a severe character and often occasioned ill feeling and alienation between former friends in personal intercourse and in various social relations.

ELIPHALET PEARSON, Hancock Professor, was chosen to succeed Mr. Bowdoin in 1800, and remained in the Board until he resigned his professorship.

His resignation took place a few days after the choice of Professor Webber as President, in March, 1806. Dr. Pearson was senior Academical Professor, and performed the duties of President during the vacancy that occurred by the decease of President Willard, which continued nearly a year and a half. For extra services as presiding officer of the Faculty he claimed compensation, a claim which was allowed in the sum of eight hundred dollars, and also for extra services in behalf of the Corporation,—services not obligatory as a member of the Board. These latter services, partly, if not mainly, grew out of an application made by Andrew Craigie and others to the Legislature, for an act of incorporation to construct a bridge over Charles River, from Lechmere Point in Cambridge, to Boston. This project, as in the case of Charles River Bridge and West Boston Bridge, again opened the history of the ferry between Boston and Charlestown, of which the College had been deprived by the building of Charles River Bridge. The ferry, which was granted to the

College in 1640, had yielded for more than a century a very small income, and in 1777 rented for only £100. Between this time and 1785, when Charles River Bridge Company was incorporated, the College had expended a large sum in repairs of the Ferry-way. The Legislature provided in the charter for the payment of an annuity to the College of £200, and again for the same amount, afterward, 1793, from West Boston Bridge; but in neither case had provided for any reversionary right at the expiration of the respective charters. Dr. Pearson, with the aid of President Willard, made a full history of the case, and showed that the College had been dispossessed of the property, when it had just begun to yield a considerable income, and that the annuities were not an adequate compensation for the loss of the increasing income that the ferry would have yielded. Mr. Craigie was persevering in his efforts to procure an act of incorporation for the proposed bridge, and Dr. Pearson, in behalf of the Corporation, was no less so in opposing the measure, unless proper provision should be made for the interest of the College.

Dr. Pearson was paid by the College for extra services in behalf of the Board eight hundred dollars. What the other services were I do not know. It may have been the overseeing of the building of Stoughton Hall in 1804-5. As to the ferry, it consumed a good deal of his time; numerous papers and documents were hunted up and copied. Several of these I copied, at the request of the President. I never was very watchful of opportunities for little gains, and never had any opportunities for large ones; but if I had been paid for these copies according to the usages of scribes and re-

corders, it might have enabled me to add a few books to my meagre library.

JOHN DAVIS was elected as successor to Judge Lowell, and took his seat at the Board in 1803. His literary character, and his reputation as a learned and upright Judge of the District Court for Massachusetts, are well known, and were highly appreciated by his contemporaries. In 1810, while a member of the Corporation, he was chosen Treasurer of the College, in which office he succeeded Hon. Jonathan Jackson, who died in that year.

Thus it appears that two of the Fellows were in office during the whole of Mr. Willard's presidency; namely, Rev. John Lathrop, who was in that office three years before President Willard's inauguration, and survived him eleven years, and Rev. Simeon Howard, one year before President Willard's election, and was survived by the President forty-four days. President Willard preached the funeral discourse at the interment of Dr. Howard, and Dr. Lathrop offered the funeral prayer at the interment of the President. The three other Fellows had each two successors. The Treasurer, Ebenezer Storer, was in office thirty years; namely, from 1777 to 1807; so that in the presidency of Mr. Willard, of nearly twenty-three years' continuance, the Board of Corporation, consisting of the President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer, numbered, with all the changes, only thirteen.

In the year 1794, agreeably to the petition of the Corporation, the Legislature granted a lottery for the purpose of erecting a new building, to be occupied by undergraduates and resident students, many of whom

at that time were obliged to procure rooms in the village. The act authorized the raising of £ 8,000. The matter labored, on account of the slow sale of tickets, and it was not until 1804 that a sum, though inadequate, and short of the sum granted to be raised, was obtained sufficient to encourage the Corporation to begin the building. In the year last named, the work was commenced, and the autumn and winter proved favorable for its progress. It was completed in 1805, and called Stoughton in memory of William Stoughton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and of the College building erected by his bounty, and called by his name, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which was taken down in the year 1780.

During the day appointed for the funeral of President Willard, September 29, 1804, work on the new building was suspended, and the workmen attended the public obsequies.

Nine hundred and forty-eight students were graduated, in regular course, under Mr. Willard's presidency, of whom one hundred and thirty-one are living, (January, 1855,) so far as is known; being nearly one seventh of the whole number. Of the classes graduated in 1784 and 1789, which furnished his first two successors, namely, Samuel Webber and John Thornton Kirkland, none are living. President Quincy, who succeeded Dr. Kirkland, is the only living member of the class of 1790.

After his severe illness in 1798, from which his recovery was long doubtful, the President was at various times, during several years following, for a few days unable to perform the duties of his office. Several

vacations he passed in short excursions, and some in journeys of considerable length. Of these, as I generally accompanied him, I shall give some account when I come to speak of things in which I was more directly and more personally concerned. From the effects of his long illness in the year above mentioned, he never fully recovered.

After Commencement, in August, 1804, feeling the want of a journey, his curiosity led him, in the choice of its direction, to make an excursion to Cape Cod, which he had never visited. He was accompanied by his son Jacob Sheafe, who had then completed his second year as an undergraduate.*

He extended his journey towards the end of the Cape, so far as it was inhabited, and for a considerable distance on horseback. On his return he reached New Bedford on the 19th of September, stopping at the house of a friend, with the expectation of resuming his journey homeward the following day. But on the evening of the same day he was seized with the violent disease † which had brought him so low six years before. From this he now obtained no relief but by his death, which occurred on the evening of the 25th of the same month.

It was at the house of Mr. Pope, whose wife was a sister of the Hon. Thomas Dawes of Boston, that Mr. Willard was taken ill; and he received all possible attention from

* This youth of hopeful promise died the following year, July 26, of a violent fever, and his classmate, Joseph G. Gogswell, delivered a eulogy on the deceased in the College Chapel.

† Ischuria or Ischury.

the family, and the best medical and surgical attendance that could be procured. New Bedford was then, from the state of the roads and modes of conveyance, at a formidable distance from Cambridge and Boston (a distance of about sixty miles), to be reached in a case of such emergency. One day certainly must have intervened before we received the painful intelligence of my father's sudden illness, and a second probably. We well knew that, if reliefs were long delayed, his disease must prove fatal. Mr. Francis Dana, President Willard's son-in-law, took my mother to New Bedford in his chaise as soon as possible after we received the distressing news, and arrived there in the evening; and I accompanied thither my sister, Mrs. Dana, in a stage-coach, the following day. In the mean time I had requested Dr. Lloyd, a gentleman of unsurpassed humanity and practical skill in surgery, who had relieved my father when suffering from the same disease six years before, to go to his relief in this its alarming recurrence. He promptly complied with the request, but his endeavors were unavailing. We met him on his return, and learned from him this sad result. We found our father breathing unconsciously. The agony of dying was passed, and he soon expired.

The body of the deceased was immediately conveyed to Cambridge, and preparations were made for the burial. A public funeral was unavoidable. Accordingly the Corporation met at the earliest moment after the President's decease became known to them, and passed the following preamble and vote:—

“ Sept. 27, 1804. The holy providence of God having on the 25th instant removed by death the Rev. President Willard,—

“Voted, that Professor Webber be requested to deliver an Eulogy at the funeral on Saturday, the 29th; and the Rev. Dr. Lathrop to introduce, and the Rev. Mr. Holmes to conclude, the solemnity with prayer.”

These solemnities were held in the Congregational Church, of which the Rev. Abiel Holmes was Pastor, and on the 5th of October the Corporation again met and passed the following vote:—

“Voted, that the Rev. Dr. Lathrop be requested to furnish a copy of his Prayer, and Professor Webber a copy of his Eulogy, delivered at the funeral of the late President Willard; and the Rev. Mr. Holmes a copy of his Sermon, delivered in the afternoon of the next Lord’s day; and that the same be published at the expense of the University.”

The vote was complied with by the several gentlemen who performed the services, and their performances were accordingly published.

CHAPTER XI.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

His Character as described in Professor Webber's Eulogy, Professor Pearson's Public Lecture, and the Sermon of Dr. Holmes.—Monument and Epitaph in Memory of him.—Circumstances of his Family at the Time of his Decease.—His Person.—Dress.—Domestic Character.—Family Government and Recreations.—Music in the Family.—Visitors.—Gentlemen's Club.—His Character as a Neighbor and a Citizen.

To what I have already said, incidentally or otherwise, of Mr. Willard's public character, and especially of his official character as President of the College, I may be allowed to add some things culled from what was said of him by his contemporaries more or less nearly associated with him in the discipline of the University, at different periods.

The Eulogy delivered at the funeral solemnities by Professor Webber was a natural, just, and unadorned tribute of affection, bestowed upon his deceased friend for his personal virtues, warmed by reflection upon the mutual sympathy they had enjoyed in scientific pursuits. From this tribute, confident as I am of its sincerity and of the author's ability to appreciate justly the virtues, talents, and acquirements of his superior in office, I subjoin a few extracts.

"When the presidency became vacant in 1780, by the resignation of Dr. Langdon, the eyes of the public were directed to Mr. Willard as the most suitable man to fill that important office. By his installation, joy and confidence were diffused through the University and the State.

"At the time of this event, in the second year of my academical course, commenced my personal knowledge of this excellent man, and my filial affection for him. During the interval of time that has since elapsed, with the exception of about one year, my residence has constantly been at the University; and with great satisfaction I can affirm, that with increasing acquaintance my esteem and respect for him have increased.

"Endued by the bountiful Author of Nature with great bodily and mental firmness and vigor, President Willard was capable of supporting, with uncommon ease, long and intense application. Having a clear understanding, a strong and retentive memory, and pursuing a various and extensive plan of study, for a long course of years, with zeal and assiduity, he amassed a prodigious treasure of knowledge. From this rich fund he took pleasure in communicating, when it would answer any valuable purpose, or could be done without the appearance of ostentatious parade. An engaging degree of modesty was combined with great dignity in his deportment. His person was majestic; his sentiments really noble and elevated; his candor, generosity, and benevolence great and conspicuous.

"Not content with partial and superficial views, he penetrated deeply into the nature of things; the principles, the reasoning, and the theory of science, as well as

the practical use and application in the various arts and to the purposes of life. In his various and extensive literary walks he took special delight in the Latin and Greek Classics, and in Mathematics. To specify all the branches of learning on which he had read, and to which he had directed his attention, would be to enumerate the ancient learned languages and the modern French, and nearly the whole circle of the arts and sciences. In the refined and noble language of ancient Greece his reading and researches were remarkably extensive. In this department of literature perhaps he had no equal in the United States. Mathematical science, especially spherics and astronomy, furnished exercise for the energy of his mind, which was a source of peculiar gratification. Frequently has he communicated to me the result of an astronomical inquiry with emotions of lively pleasure. Alas, my father, that I can never again participate with you in such refined, such elevated enjoyment!"

Professor Pearson, in a lecture addressed to the students, the immediate occasion of which was the death of the President, which led him to speak of the remarkable mortality that had taken place among the officers of the different boards and the undergraduates of the University, within a few previous years, added: "Painful indeed it is that I am not permitted here to close the sad recital. Thankful should I be were I not compelled to add to the melancholy list the name of WILLARD; a name which in your grateful minds will ever excite the venerable image of combined integrity, wisdom, and dignity, softened and adorned by parental tenderness and unaffected piety. But his character is

already in print, and, what is more, is engraved on your hearts. For myself I will only subjoin, that, as I many years shared his confidence, so I have never known a man of a more upright and noble mind ; and that no event of my life, one excepted,* has ever caused me so much grief, anxiety, and distress, as the death of President WILLARD."

The President, Professors, and Tutors, together with resident students and undergraduates, had from the foundation of the College worshipped (with few exceptions at a later period) at the First Congregational Church in Cambridge, of which the Rev. Abiel Holmes had been the pastor for more than twelve years at the time of the decease of the President. They had always been on terms of familiar acquaintance and of mutual friendship and respect.

On the Sunday following the funeral ceremonies, he preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion. After a few words relating to the descent of Mr. Willard, and the offices held by him before he was called to the presidency, he said : —

"A sound mind in a sound body, that felicity which ancient writers considered as constituting the happy man, was eminently his portion. This rare felicity, in alliance with his extensive acquirements in the most solid and useful branches of literature, qualified him to sustain the labors of the presidency with firmness and constancy, and to perform its duties with exactness, discretion, ability, and dignity.

* Doubtless referring to the death of his first wife, who was a daughter of President Holyoke.

"To the promotion of the important objects of the University he was assiduously and zealously devoted. To accomplish these ends, however, he used no means but what were fair and honorable, and calculated to promote, not merely its temporary, but its permanent reputation. He was more ambitious to extend the knowledge, than to increase the number of his pupils. Hence it was that he was zealous to raise the terms of admission into the College, a measure which he lived to see adopted. He was more solicitous to preserve order and maintain proper subordination among the students, than to acquire a spurious popularity. Hence, while he aimed to make parental authority the basis of his government, in the execution of the laws of the University, and in the maintenance of discipline, he was vigilant, equable, exact, and inflexible. Such youths therefore as were ingenuous in their temper, and regular in their habits, mingled affection with respect for their President; those of a different character, however displeased with the authority, were constrained to venerate the man. His feelings towards his whole academical family were truly parental, and the more he was known to his pupils, the more certain was he of their filial respect."

These were not the words of a mere looker-on. Dr. Holmes was, by virtue of his office as minister of a Congregational church in Cambridge, a member of the Board of Overseers, and more especially, as resident there, he was a visitor always near, a watchman within sight and hearing.

The striking coincidence in these memorials, selected from the testimony of persons who witnessed for a series of years the constancy and fidelity of President

Willard, and who were among those the most competent to judge of his character and learning, and adaptation to the office he so long held, is sufficient to account for his successful administration of the affairs of the University. Many incidental notices of a similar kind, which have occurred at different times in the writings of Tutors who served under him, might be added, if there were occasion for any further accumulation. One of these I here cite, on account of the particular occasion. At the ordination of the Rev. Christopher T. Thayer at Beverly, in 1830, his father, the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D.D. of Lancaster, who, after taking his degree at the University, was a Tutor for a year or more, 1792 – 93, preached the ordination sermon, and naturally called to remembrance the name of Dr. Willard, though his ministry in that place closed nearly half a century before. "His unbending integrity," said Dr. Thayer, "his patience and fidelity in duty, his claims to professional and literary respect and confidence, gave him a high rank among the worthies, guardians, and guides of his generation."

A monody on the death of President Willard, written by Charles Shaw, of the class that commenced Seniors at the time of the President's decease, was printed in the Literary Miscellany, published at Cambridge, without the name of the author affixed. It is a tribute of youthful affection and respect worthy of being preserved.*

It was intended by the Corporation of the University to erect a suitable monument in memory of the deceased President, without unnecessary delay. But the

* See Appendix.

Board was long perplexed by difficulties in filling the vacancies occasioned by the death of the Hollis Professor of Divinity and of the President, and their intention was not carried into effect. It was not until the year 1846, being many years after the members of the Corporation and of the Faculty were entirely changed, that the work was accomplished.

By the request of the Corporation in that year, Charles Folsom, Esq., an eminent scholar, as well in ancient as in modern tongues, wrote a very appropriate Latin epitaph, which, receiving, as it deserved, the full approbation of the Board, was engraved on the monument erected in memory of Joseph Willard D.D., LL.D, President of Harvard College, on that portion of the old burial-ground belonging to the College.*

Added to the deep grief of the family of President Willard occasioned by the event of his sudden death was their anxiety arising from the slender means left for their subsistence. These were the inheritance of the mother, and confirmed as hers by the last will of her husband. The property had accumulated but little since it came into possession. Of debts, however, there were few, and of small amount. The family of my mother, when left a widow, consisted of four sons and five daughters.† The two younger sons were dependent, one of them having just commenced his third year in College, and the other being in the seventh year of his age. Five daughters were living, the eldest having

* See Appendix.

† Her first-born son, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1793, died in 1798.

been married and at housekeeping for two years preceding.

President Quincy, in his History of the University, says that the salary of President Willard never exceeded fourteen hundred dollars exclusive of the fees for degrees.* On the average, during his presidency of nearly twenty-three years, the established fees of Bachelors and Masters of Arts amounted, annually, to a sum not exceeding three hundred and forty dollars, according to the best estimate I can make. Extra fees were sometimes received, but I can safely say that these did not add enough to make the whole income of his office eighteen hundred dollars a year at its best estate. This, with a large family and extensive family connections and friends, and a house always hospitably open, must have been used with remarkable prudence to avoid an alarming deficit. A very considerable deficit there was for several years, of which I made a statement in a memorial to the Corporation. Five hundred dollars was granted to his family for expenses incurred by his last illness.

President Quincy, after his History of the University

* His salary was paid from various sources at different times. While I was an undergraduate, it was derived partly from the annuity to the College from Charles River Bridge, of which Judge James Russell of Charlestown was Treasurer. Several times I was sent by my father to receive the payments. Instead of giving me a check on either of the two banks in Boston; he emptied his money-bag on the table, with its variety of coins,—dollars, halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths, crowns, half-crowns, pistareens, and coppers,—the same, I suppose, as they came from the toll-gatherers of the bridge, and sorted them for me to count,—a task that I felt obliged to perform, though to me harder than the ordinary academical tasks.

comes down to the time of President Willard, professedly gives only "an outline of events." But the summary remarks of his, at the close of this outline, on the character of President Willard, and on his successful discharge of the duties of his office, proceeding as it did from personal knowledge, I cannot forbear to quote.

"President Willard was distinguished as a scholar, for his acquaintance with classical literature and with mathematical and astronomical science; as a divine, for learning, candor, and catholicism; and as the head of the University, for a union of paternal kindness with firmness in supporting the laws. His manners were simple and reserved, his deportment dignified, and his character serious and contemplative. Having been called to the President's chair in the midst of the Revolutionary war, when the general tone of morals was weak and the spirit of discipline enervated, he sustained the authority of his station with consummate steadfastness and prudence. He found the seminary embarrassed, he left it free and prosperous. His influence was uniformly happy, and through his whole connection with the institution he enjoyed the entire confidence of his associates in the government, the respect of the students, and the undeviating approbation and support of the public."

It remains only that I describe briefly the outward person of the President, his domestic character and habits, his social character, and his character as a neighbor and citizen.

His physical frame to all appearance was uncommonly well developed, in regard as well to symmetry as to strength. In height he was five feet ten or eleven

inches. His head and chest were in due proportion to each other; the latter was broad and capacious, and his limbs well rounded with their muscular covering. Consequently, in standing or walking, his body was erect and his movement was firm and graceful. No portrait of him was ever painted. A profile taken from the shadow of his head, intended for full size, is all that remains of this kind, except what is engraved on the memory of his contemporaries. Whenever seen out of his house or in company, his head was crowned with a full-bottomed, well-dressed white wig. It was a great disfigurement, however much sanctioned by the fashion of the times and by an association of reverence with his calling. I like best to remember him with his velvet cap, in his study, as to the matter of costume. I remember him sometimes in his study, when dressing, without wig or cap on his head; and a noble head it was, sadly wronged by its unnatural outward treatment.

To Farnham, the Peruke-King, all the clergy in Boston and round about, who wore wigs, looked up with loyal respect. He had no rival and no pretender to the crown within his realm. Every last wig that came from his royal hands or was renovated thereby he triumphantly pronounced to be his *chef-d'œuvre*. He gloried in President Willard as one of his subjects.

For his three-cornered hat, his cocked hat, my father resorted to Nathan Balch, a very worthy and respectable man, sometimes irreverently called Nat. Balch; a frequent guest of Governor Hancock, and entertainer of his other guests, adding zest to the viands and the *vina* at the dinner-board by anecdotes and stories, mimetic art,

humor, witticism, and song, drawn from his inexhaustible storehouse.

Besides the wig and shape of the hat, neither of which was uncommon before the close of the last century among laymen as well as clergymen, (except that laymen, who wore full-bottomed wigs, usually wore gray wigs instead of white,) there was nothing peculiar in the dress of President Willard. There was very little change in the shape of his garments from year to year, from the time of my early remembrance. The same thing was true generally of others. Fashions changed but little from middle to advanced life. Buckles to the kneebands and shoe-straps were used by the elders, and strings or ribbons by the youth.

It is with unmixed satisfaction that I proceed to speak, in a few words, of my father as the male head of his family. In nothing that I shall say of good shall I have any compunctionous visitings of conscience for any supposed coloring or exaggeration; from this I shall abstain. All his laws were sanctioned by his own example. To his wife, his devoted friend and comforter, every look and every word spoken was a cordial; for in everything addressed to her, his first words were "*My dear,*" verified by the look; and so constant was this, that the child might mistake it for her baptismal name. Of all this tenderness she was worthy. In every possible way she relieved him from domestic care; all the supplies of daily food were under her direction, and unless by accident or inquiry for some special reason, he knew not from day to day on what food he should dine. The household (children and domestics) were under her discipline and sway, and so kind and

consistent was her management, that seldom did the mistress have to call in aid the authority of the master. Government on her part I can hardly call it, for affection and respect, which she thoroughly gained from the subordinates, superseded the use of direct imperative authority and command; and between the master and the mistress, the father and mother, there were no cross purposes, nothing to be concealed, and no conflicting elements in their views of parental influence and guidance.

The rod, if there were any, I never saw, and do not remember ever to have heard its infliction threatened. When anything required rebuke or admonition from the father to the son, it was administered without the harshness that produces irritation, without such chidings and threats as might make them artful and truthless; but, on the contrary, with a gravity and wounded feeling, that secured their submission, uncomplaining, which in turn was repaid by reasonable indulgence, and the purpose of improvement was obtained by quiet and consistent ruling.

His daily home life was very uniform. At five o'clock in the morning he rose from bed, and at six prayed at the College Chapel very constantly during term-time. In the winter he slept in his study, and having covered up his coals and brands with ashes over night (for he used wood only for fuel), he had ample time in the morning to kindle his fire and fortify himself against the frosts to be encountered in his walks to the Chapel. Soon after his return, the family devotions were held, followed by breakfast. The dinner hour was one o'clock. In meats and drinks he was very tem-

perate ; consequently his constitution, naturally vigorous, was never impaired by indulgence, but, on the contrary, by that abstraction of mind and neglect of the body to which men of study in all ages have been the most numerous victims.

My father and mother both took pleasure in the company of young visitors. Fond as they were of their own children, it could not be otherwise. Hence it was that, as the two elder daughters were approaching to womanhood, the house was often enlivened by such visitors in their gala days. If the elders of the house could not always join in their innocent gayety, they encouraged it by their complacent smiles ; they never, within its proper limits, marred it by moody sullenness or aversion. Indeed, if any one had reason to complain, it was myself, for when these young females in the heyday of their years, taking advantage, as such are wont to do, of their few summers' priority, had exhausted their wits elsewhere, they would climb to the attic, and play off their pranks upon, or with, or in presence of me, a college boy of fourteen or fifteen years, with their riddles and conundrums and crambo,—and that in my study, as I in honor named it.

But there was variety in the social visits to the house ; of those connected with the College, of gentlemen and ladies in the village, and of those who revisited it, after having attained a residence, professional or otherwise, elsewhere. Sometimes an eccentric visitor appeared. Master Moody I have mentioned. Pater West, as he was often called — Samuel West, rightfully — of Dartmouth, a minister of the Gospel, was another. How he came by the first grave prænomen, *Pater*, I am not able to say

with certainty; but I believe it was given to him by his classmates at College in honor of his age and his sway. He was a very thinking man; but his thoughts were not always uppermost about the things of immediate moment. A multitude of anecdotes illustrative of this have been travelling about for a century (a century it is since he was graduated, 1754), many of them true, some doubtless exaggerated, and some false. He was in Cambridge in 1798, and made my father's house his head-quarters. He preached in the church of the first parish, having exchanged, I believe, with Dr. Holmes. My father was very anxious lest the singularities for which he was very remarkable in the pulpit and everywhere else should disturb the gravity of the students, whose seats were in the front gallery; and his anxiety was not without reason. Dr. West had, I suppose, been informed of the order of services in the church, or read them in the blank leaf of the hymn-book, and began accordingly with a short prayer, and read a portion of Scripture, and then a hymn, which was sung. But next he was in fault. He rose and began to name the text of his sermon, and Mr. John Foxcroft (who was wont to utter little Latin scraps in secular intercourse) now, without due reverence either for Priscian's head or for the pulpit, rose and addressed the preacher in bad Latin, namely, *Oblivisti preces, Domine.* The preacher heard a voice, and it may be an audible smile, so to speak in the auditory; but whether his monitor was not sufficiently clear in his enunciation, or the preacher, whose wig was seldom rightly adjusted, had suffered it to cover his right ear, the words were to him a dead letter; his monitor did not rise to correct his Latin, and the

preacher proceeded unembarrassed. After returning to the President's house, unconscious, I have no doubt, of any omission in the public service, and prompted by a little vanity of which he was not destitute, he asked, "Well, Mr. President, how did I make out?" or in words as homely of the same purport. "Very well," said the President, "except the omission of the long prayer." "Well, I don't care," said the Doctor, "they have no business to have such a complicated service; I have only one prayer at home."

Concerning my father's social character I have anticipated in general terms most that I have to say. In the meetings of the Immediate Government, when not oppressed by business, he took his part in pleasant conversation; and the same, doubtless, might be said of him in regard to the meetings of the Corporation. In the former body I well remember that such episodes were not uncommon. While he loathed vulgarity, he had a relish for chaste humor, and was not unfrequently excited to laughter, alike involuntary, hearty, and cheering, and sometimes, it might be, more resonant than the strict rules of politeness would allow.

In social circles as well as in the family group he had no eccentricities; and thus there was wanting one source of interest which pertains to the biographical notices of some distinguished men. He was fond of society, but was contented with a moderate share of the conversation. He aimed at no rivalry with those who were ambitious of distinction in this way, or with those whose natural gifts, improved by cultivation, secured to them an acknowledged eminence in social converse, and to whom it was pleasant to listen. Nothing more than

this or essentially different from it was meant, I conceive, by President Quincy, in the very just description of his character which I have already quoted, when he said "his manners were simple and reserved." He was far from intending to use the word reserved in a bad sense ; for in such a sense it is irreconcilable with *simple* ; for what is simple and natural in a good man cannot be dissocial, or even unsocial. He certainly was never silent or watchful for any ungenerous or bad purpose. Professor Webber, in his Eulogy, expressed happily the manners of my father in regard to social intercourse. An engaging degree of modesty was combined with great dignity in his deportment. And when free from care a temperate cheerfulness always beamed in his countenance.

He was fond of music, and encouraged the practice of it among the students, and practised it in his own family. He was acquainted with it as a science. Particularly in sacred music, when well performed, he took great pleasure, and joined in that part of the service in his seat at church. About the close of the last century, while his daughters were taking lessons on the piano, under a skilful and scientific teacher, at his suggestion and by his exertions, with the co-operation of Professor Pearson, who had the same kind of knowledge and taste, and with the aid of the teacher, a concert of music was held in the Episcopal Church on Commencement evening. It was well attended, and much approved ; but though the entertainment was successful, it was never, I believe, repeated.

Instrumental music on secular days, and psalmody on Sunday, made a part of the evening recreation of the

family for many of the latter years of my father's life. It was one of the means of making home a social state, of taking from it the feeling of solitariness, and the restless desire of wandering and change, so common to the young.

Evening parties embracing great numbers, young and old, were as yet unknown in Cambridge. Small tea-parties among a few families were not unfrequent.

There existed for several years an evening club of gentlemen, which included within my remembrance the President and resident Professors of the College, the minister of the parish, Judge Dana, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Craigie, Mr. Gannett, and some others, exclusive of bachelors ; which exception occasioned Judge Winthrop to say, (good-naturedly, I suppose,) that "they met to talk over their grievances." Their refreshments were very simple, and the club expired several years before the President's decease.

As a citizen my father was treated with respect, and I am not aware that any of his townsmen were, strictly speaking, his personal enemies. As President of the College, and politically as a decided Federalist, he had to bear his portion of hostile feeling from the opposite party, in common with the other officers of College, though not accompanied by personal conflicts.

The property of the College in land and buildings, including as well the domiciles occupied by the President and Professors as the College halls, was to a certain amount exempt from taxation, and the officers personally were also exempted. Of the former there was no reason to complain ; of the personal exemption perhaps there was. It was originally intended not so much

as a bounty to the individuals as an encouragement of learning, when public aid was much needed, and when the General Court felt bound to afford it. But in this mode of affording it, it had its disadvantages. A mite was given, but the prize was lost. The rights of citizenship were considered by many of the people as cancelled or greatly impaired on the part of the exempts by the saving of a few shillings. The legal distinction was invidious; so much so, that the College officers took no part in common municipal affairs, not even in the election of town-officers, in the choice of whom reciprocal good or evil might result, or essential injury be done to the party not represented. There had never, to my knowledge, been any claim, on the part of the exempts from taxation, to the right of voting in town affairs, or, on the contrary, any abandonment of it, except that of non-usage, until a year or two after the beginning of the present century. It then came up in a very unexpected and extraordinary case. In the warrant for a town-meeting the chief article was for the voters "to bring in their votes for one or more representatives to the General Court." When this article came up, it was moved that the town send three, and the question was decided by a count of the voters passing by the seat of the selectmen. After those in the affirmative had passed, President Willard was passing with those in the negative, when his right of voting upon the *number* of representatives to be sent was called in question by the chairman, as involving a question of expense, in which tax-payers only had this right;—each town at that time paying the travel, and the *per diem* allowance for attendance, of its own representatives. The President

protested against the chairman's view of the matter, from which a sharp debate arose, and Chief Justice Dana with his usual eloquence, though on a narrow subject, defended the right of those exempted from taxes to vote on the preliminary question of the number of representatives ; which view of the question finally prevailed.

It was not till after the decease of President Willard, that these causes of alienation between the College and a portion of the people of Cambridge were removed. In the year 1807, the second and third parishes were incorporated as separate towns ; the parish called Menotomy with the name West Cambridge, and that called Little Cambridge, on the west side of Charles River, with the name Brighton ; leaving all the territory which now constitutes the city of Cambridge as the town of Cambridge, containing about eleven hundred inhabitants, and thenceforward enjoying greater political quiet. The Legislature some years after provided by law for the payment of representatives from the funds of the Commonwealth, and the law exempting college officers, the clergy, and teachers of schools from taxes was repealed. Had this law continued much longer unrepealed, it would probably have occasioned increased dissatisfaction and loud remonstrance ; and this not without reasonable cause.

The officers of College, while Cambridge continued to be a small village in the neighborhood of the seminary, were looked upon by a portion of the citizens with a suspicious feeling, as if they had some rival interests which separated them from the people. It was a vague and undefined feeling, which had no foundation. They

did as much for the promotion of good neighborhood as any other individuals. Naturally they and their families associated together more intimately than with others, as a general thing; but this was in conformity with a general law. Proximity of persons of similar callings, in professional life and various occupations, and consequently of peculiar sympathies with one another in each, draws them together severally in groups, more or less numerous, and operates more powerfully in producing this effect than any other cause, except family relationships and affinities. But these accidental associations are not necessarily so many selfish, exclusive clanships. They tend in many cases to nourish and strengthen the social feeling, and produce a growth and enlargement, and extension of benevolence, which it would not gain under the ordinary circumstances of casual and indiscriminate intercourse. Certainly, it seems to me, literary men are as exempt as any class of men from the opposite tendency.

CHAPTER XII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

My Birth and Childhood.—Earliest Recollections.—Schoolmistress.—Grammar School; its Condition; its Schoolmasters.—Begin the Study of Latin.—Sent by my Father to Stafford, Ct., to his Elder Brother, for his Instruction preparatory for College.—Appearance of the Place.

I WAS born in Beverly on the 19th of September, 1780, according to the family record; being fourteen months before my father with his family removed to Cambridge. My baptismal name was not given to please the ear by its euphony, nor as a remembrance of the poet and romancer of the sixteenth century; for though my father had now and then, in his youth or early manhood, invoked the Muses, his riper years, except what were devoted to official duties, were spent in severer studies. It was the gift, I suppose, of patriotism and the love of freedom.

Of the accounts which have been given of extraordinary cases of infant memory, although there is, doubtless, great diversity in the years to which memory can be traced back in different persons, yet I am inclined to believe that many of these remarkable tales are tales of the nursery, told to the child, and repeated, until in after

years he thinks they are matters of his own personal, unaided, and independent remembrance. Almost every one, I think, can call to mind events which took place, as he knows historically, in a certain year and month of his infancy, of which he is doubtful whether he took cognizance by his own senses, or came to the knowledge by oft-recurring recitals in his family. I can remember my schoolmistress and her long rod, with which she could reach every child in the semicircle around her, and her pinning one and another to her apron when they were restless or unruly ; but whether any of these memorabilia happened in my fourth year or seventh, to me, or to any other, would be a matter to be determined by testimony ; and in similar cases may many anachronisms happen in the memories of infancy and childhood in after years, while the adult, having once fixed facts and dates in his own mind, from imperfect or erroneous data, takes no method to re-examine them. The earliest period of memory in one's life and that of old age are in one respect much alike. In each, generally, that which makes the most permanent impression is what has been accompanied by the strongest feeling of pleasure or pain. Add to this, in the beginnings of memory, that is, of what is obtained, novelty has a large share ; everything new that strikes the fancy is magnified by the senses, and is paramount for the moment. But the pleasures and pains of memory, and novelty as one of its delights, come in such crowds and clusters upon children, that most of them are successively obliterated, and with them the chronological order of what remains.

I cannot recall any event, which I can confidently

say that I remember, that happened before I was five years old. The first thing that I distinctly remember, and can verify the fact by its date, is the funeral of my youngest brother, and the youngest of the six children, named Thomas Hollis.* But my recollection of the funeral is not at all connected with that of the previous illness and death, or with any idea of what death is, or of any feeling of grief on the occasion. It was the novelty of the occasion that left its traces upon the memory ; the impression produced by the uncommonness of the circumstances that followed,—by a number of persons assembled for the funeral service in a spare chamber, by the mourning habiliments, and by the perfect stillness, all contrasted with the cheerfulness of the usual family circle and their transient visitors. I have often thought of this want of emotion, if such was the fact, compared with the poignant grief which the death of a brother, five years younger than myself, occasioned me in my thirteenth year. This occurred a few weeks after I had seen him at Cambridge, having myself been previously absent from home, under private instruction, for two years, and just returned to the family of my instructor. In that short visit to my home I imbibed a strong affection for him, and his image had not faded from my sight. I had reached an age, and not exceeded it, when I had come to look upon death as a great calamity, without having learned to appreciate

* This child was named for the great benefactors of the University of the same name. Of the benefactors of the College President Willard was always mindful, and frequently remembered them, in his prayers in the College Chapel, among the causes for gratitude to God.

the worth of consolations administered by kind and pious guardians and friends, or to cherish those solemn reflections which so sparingly visit the youthful mind.

Another event which occurred in the same year, and in the same month also, or in the following, was that of seeing, from what was called the kitchen chamber, on the westerly end of the President's house, a company of soldiers march into the meeting-house, at the close of the day, for encampment through the night. Here the lasting impression was made by novelty, and the fact confirmed by its date. It was part of the force destined to march against the insurgents.

In my seventh year, after having passed through the usual discipline under a schoolmistress, I entered what was then and long afterwards, nominally, the Grammar School of Cambridge; but really a school for males of all intermediate ages (in all gradations of learning) between puling infancy and robust manhood; it being the only public school within a district extending about a mile in each direction. Although an annual school, it differed little at that time, and for many years afterwards, in its general character, from common district schools, except by the accident of a peculiar charity connected with it. Edward Hopkins, who came to New England in the year 1637, was Governor of Connecticut for several years, between 1640 and 1654, after which period he returned to England, where he died in 1657. In his will he bequeathed five hundred pounds to the school and College in New England for the promotion of learning and religion, which was understood and decided in the English Court of Chancery, many years after, to appertain to Harvard College, for a Grammar

School preparatory for College, and for the aid of students in divinity residing at the College. It was paid in 1710, and special trustees of the fund and visitors of the school were appointed. The school received one fourth part of the income. The condition on which the master of the school received it was, that he should devote one hour a day to the pupils who should be approved by the visitors, in their preparatory studies for entering college. But with the medley of ages and studies in the school, and the whole discipline weighing upon a single teacher, already exhausted in school hours devoted to the mass, the hour belonging exclusively to seven boys in different stages of progress, weary and listless by three hours of previous confinement, was of small value. Besides, the intention of this charity was defeated, in a great measure, by the officers of the town, who made it a matter of barter for saving from its treasury a sum virtually taken from what was intended for special labors. And although they were able to procure annually, from recent graduates, good teachers, who accepted their terms, being tempted so to do by the pleasure and benefit of residence at College, yet they drove their bargain with such meanness and persistence that they could seldom secure the same teacher for a second year.

This state of things was deplored by President Willard, who was by virtue of his College office chairman of the board of visitors, and was also one of the trustees of the fund, and continued to be so deplored by his successors; and it was not until after President Quincy had been in office ten years, and the income of the charity had become such as to justify it, that a separate

school was established, on the petition of the trustees, by an act of the Legislature, in the year 1839. Suitable provision was soon made for opening the school, and it commenced in the same year, and continued in successful operation until July, 1854, when, in consequence of the diminished number of pupils, and the belief that the Cambridge High School was in such good condition, under its permanent Principal and his assistants, as to supersede the separate Hopkins School, the trustees of the latter voted to discontinue it, and to transfer the income belonging to it to the Cambridge High School, reserving to themselves the right to recommence the Hopkins School whenever they should deem it expedient.

To return to the Old Cambridge Grammar School. It was there that I learned to read and write, in some sort, and studied Cheever's Accidence and Corderius, and some other things. In each of the four years that I attended this school there was a new master. They were all graduates of Harvard College, and good scholars. Sufficiently indulgent they were, while at the same time they preserved good order, and obtained the respect of their pupils. I have a pleasing remembrance of them all as teachers, and it so happened that I had many opportunities of reciprocal friendly greetings with them all in after life. Shapleigh, the kind-hearted, patient, and polite Shapleigh, I have spoken of in another place; but I shall ever remember him as associated first of all with the memory of my boyhood, as governing his school by the interchange of kind affections between the master and the pupils. He was Librarian of the College from 1793 to 1800, the year of his death, and

consequently during all my connection with it as an undergraduate, and for nearly two years as a resident graduate. I always found a courteous reception at his study, and a cheerful compliance with every reasonable request in his official business.

The other three gentlemen, namely, Hezekiah Packard, Daniel Clarke Sanders, and Pitt Clarke, lived long and worthily. Mr. Packard was graduated in 1787, and immediately took charge of the school. He was in the twenty-sixth year of his age, about six feet in height, well proportioned, and the expression of his countenance was not only pleasing, but attractive ; so that if any of the stalwart youth were disposed to rebel against his laws, they would either be won to loyalty by his mild dignity, or overmatched by his physical power.

After a year of successful service in the school, he continued to reside in Cambridge, and occupied a room in College which he had held the year before. He was employed through the year as an assistant to the Librarian, in preparing for publication the first printed Catalogue of the Library. Professor Sewall also was an assistant of the Librarian, Rev. Isaac Smith, in the same work. At the Commencement of the College year, July, 1789, he was chosen a Tutor to fill the place left vacant by Mr. Webber's promotion from that office to that of Hollis Professor of Mathematics. In his new field of duty Mr. Packard wrought faithfully for four years, until near the time of his ordination over the church at Chelmsford, October 16th, 1793. While in the ministry there, he repeatedly visited President

Willard and his family, and was always a welcome and entertaining guest.

He remained but eight years in Chelmsford. Having been disappointed in some of his plans for extending his useful labors, and "judging," as he said, "from the result of late meetings relative to my wants and wishes, that the people manifested indifference towards me, I resolved, deliberately, and, I think I may say, prayerfully, to relinquish my ministry at Chelmsford." *

From this pause in the history of his life, the transition which follows brings my name in close connection with his, in an event which determined the place of his professional labors for the greater part of his future years. "With these feelings and views I journeyed eastward. My first object was to visit my worthy friend, Alden Bradford, Esq., who had been the minister of Wiscasset, but for want of health had retired from the ministry and still lived there. I knew not that Wiscasset was destitute of a minister. On reaching Mr. Bradford's on Saturday evening, I found my visit was peculiarly opportune both for me and for that people; for though they had enjoyed preaching, and had invited a

* "Memoir of Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D. D., chiefly Autobiographical. Brunswick: From the Press of J. Griffin. 1850." The autobiography was found by the children of Dr. Packard among his manuscripts, with this inscription on the cover: "To be opened by any of my children after my decease." "Free use of it," they say, "will be made in these pages," and it is worthy of the use they made of it. The narrative is simple and unpretending, the reflections wise and devout; and the expression of gratitude to God, for all the blessings of his life, and of his affection for his children and many friends, flowing freely and undarned, manifests the sincerity of his heart.

candidate (Mr., afterwards Professor, Sidney Willard) to settle with them in the ministry, and daily expected an answer from him to their call, his answer did not come. In the week next ensuing I opened [with prayer] the Court of Common Pleas, then in session, and was introduced into several families in the place. And what seemed to me very providential, in the course of that week a negative answer was received from Mr. Willard." The result was, that, after preaching there a few times, he received a unanimous invitation to become the minister of the church, in the service of which he remained thirty-four years, adding to his parochial labors for many years the instruction of youth.

Thus led by my good master's narrative, I have leaped over the intervening time from my early schoolboy days to that of my majority, and shown how I escaped a snare innocently laid for my inexperienced youth, and at the same time unknowingly left a boon for my respected friend of experienced age, of experience in the service to which he was called, and of excellent gifts for its performance.

It was in the winter of 1802, about the beginning of January, that I spent several weeks in Wiscasset, preached on Sundays, perhaps wrote one or two sermons on other days of the week, and visited many families. Mr. Bradford's house was always open to me, and I never failed to find a cheerful welcome from him and his accomplished wife. He kindly took me in his sleigh across the river Kennebec to Hallowell, for a visit to Benjamin Vaughan, Esq., on a fine winter day, although the sun was so powerful as to cause more water on the surface of the ice-bound river than was agreeable. They

who knew Mr. Vaughan and still live and remember his great store of knowledge, and what generous use he made of it, (he died in 1835,) know also that there could be no lack of conversation with his visitors. It was at Mr. Vaughan's, in the evening of that day, that I first saw Samuel Sumner Wilde, Esq., then a distinguished lawyer, since known throughout our Commonwealth, and honored no less in his private and social than in his judicial character ; and still living among us, venerable in years and revered for his virtues and past services.

Mr. Vaughan had not been many years in Hallowell at the time of which I am speaking ; but he had already become a great public benefactor by his example, his scientific knowledge, and his practical skill as an agriculturist, horticulturist, and orchardist. In each of these departments he quickened and extended important improvements by his benevolence and communicative virtues, in aid of his scientific and practical knowledge.

Wiscasset was a thriving place when I was there, in 1802. A lucrative trade was carried on with the West Indies, and domestic extravagance in luxury and show was a prevalent fault, which kept pace with the acquisition of wealth. It was not until the flush had reached its height and the tide had begun to ebb, that it was found out that there was a virtue and wisdom in saving, which were far more to be relied upon for permanent enjoyment than a rush for gain, and wasteful expenditures.

From this digression, to which I have been accidentally led, I return to the school whence I strayed. My second master, as I have said, was Daniel Clarke San-

ders, who graduated in 1788, and was afterwards, about the beginning of the present century, elected President of the University of Vermont established at Burlington. Mr. Sanders was more stringent in his ruling than Mr. Packard. There were some young men in the school whose example was not favorable to order, and he had some unpleasant conflicts with them. In one case, I remember, there was an actual contest of physical strength; but the master, who was an athletic man, and was sustained by his right to rule, gained the victory, and I believe it was followed by no attempt to resist his authority. After his year of service was completed, I saw him not again until the year 1799, at Burlington, Vermont, after he had been chosen President of Vermont University, but before the institution was fully organized, when I enjoyed several weeks of intimacy with him, of which I shall speak in another place.

The fourth and last of the teachers of the Grammar School during my continuance in it was Pitt Clarke, a man of grave aspect and calm temperament, and very assiduous in his vocation. He was graduated in 1790, and immediately entered upon his work. It was not long after the close of his year's service in the school, that he was ordained over the Congregational church in Norton, Bristol County, Mass., where he remained until his death, in the year 1835. He left a good name behind him at Cambridge, both among the people of the village and the officers of the College, for his eminent virtues. For many years during his ministry he had the charge of instructor (and I doubt not that in many instances might have been added the title of reformer) of young men who were suspended for a while from their College

teachers and associates on account of negligence or other delinquencies. More than other clergymen was he employed in this service, incidental to the discipline of the College. There are probably several still living who remember him with grateful hearts in this relation.

The Grammar School of Cambridge being in the condition that I have described above, not for the want of good masters, but owing to circumstances over which they had no control, it had become a common practice of parents to place their sons under private teachers, or in classical schools, or academies incorporated for higher instruction than that afforded by common grammar schools, in various towns.

My father had an elder brother, Rev. John Willard, of Stafford, in the State of Connecticut, who, in order to add something to a salary inadequate to his support, had for several years during his ministry taken a few pupils for instruction preparatory to entrance into one of the New England colleges. My elder brother Augustus, who took his degree in 1793, was one of these. In the latter part of July, 1791, I was sent, with my brother Samuel, nineteen months younger than myself, to this then desolate place, under the protection of Augustus. This juvenile trio took passage in a stage-coach, or wagon rather, in the morning, and, by great diligence on the part of the drivers at the different stages, reached Brookfield in about fourteen hours ; the distance from Cambridge being about sixty-five miles. It was in the early days of this mode of travelling, valued not only for its convenience, but for its speed. On the morning of the next day we resumed our journey in a chaise. The road was in

no part of the way very good, and the last six or seven miles of the twenty from Brookfield to Stafford were unfit for a chaise, and we walked most of the way ; but in the course of about six hours we reached the spacious Stafford Street, extending nearly two miles in length, within parallel lines from twelve to fifteen rods apart, with here and there a house on each side. The contrast between this street and our narrow streets and green lanes, as they then were, in Cambridge village, but which are now buried deep under gravel, was striking. But all the magnificence of the former was lost in viewing it by parts. As we descended from its elevation, where we entered along its gentle declivity, we found it, on each side of the narrow carriage way, full of rocks and bushes, except such spaces as afforded some grazing for cattle, and the whole was a common pasture for swine, cows, sheep, and geese. As to dwelling-houses, the village that I had left was, with few exceptions, not only unadorned, but squalid. No decayed buildings were pulled down, and no new ones erected. In this respect the two places presented no great contrast. One pleasing sight there was, not many rods distant from my uncle's house, namely, three or four noble chestnut-trees in the great highway, which, in the autumn, when the fruit was matured and released from its outward covering and defence, yielded us a joyful harvest for three successive years. The rocks and bushes, however, in the many acres of the street, were the chief ornaments, and, as if nature was too sacred to be violated, were for the most part left undisturbed. Soon, however, I became reconciled to the native rudeness of this scenery, and took pleasure in seeing the ground peopled with the

variety of living creatures, grazing, browsing the shrubs and bushes, rooting the ground, and plucking the berries and vermin from plants and bushes, according to their various tastes, instincts, and capabilities; and, not least, the merry pranks of the lambkins that here and there came in sight delighted my eyes and arrested my steps; and when, more than half a century after the close of my pupilage in Stafford, curiosity concerning localities and the strength of early associations with them, which are apt to increase in proportion to the length of the intervening time, led me to visit the place, all this came back to remembrance, and imparted that undefinable but pleasurable feeling which often arises from the close conjunction of the present and the long past. My uncle's house presented the same front, but had passed into other hands; through how many, I know not. In the rear of the house the kitchen and pantry had disappeared, and a new wing occupied the place. The old wagon path to the tillage ground, pastures, and meadow I could trace, and many things that had been, and now were not, in the out-buildings and partitions of fields, memory and imagination restored. The house is about midway between the ends of the long street or highway; and in both directions I could recall the residences of the McClures, Lyons, Hides, Phelpses, Moultons, Stowels, Pinneys, Converses, Whitakers, et als., all of whom who were then of adult age had now ceased from their labors.

The street in some parts was improved, but not altered enough in appearance to obliterate, or even greatly to impair, the pleasure derived from early associations. The old burial-ground continued in much the same con-

dition in which it was when I first knew the place. It was entered from the great street, near the southerly end, and is a parcel of ground the situation and general appearance of which are such as would seem to indicate that it was chosen for inhuming the dead because it was good for nothing to the living.

CHAPTER XIII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Stafford ; Mineral Spring.—Rev. John Willard. — His House and Household.—His Person and Character.—Industry of his Daughters.—His Small Salary, partially paid.—Teacher of a few Pupils in his House.—How he disposed of my Time except that of Study Hours.—The Postman or Postrider.—Mr. Willard's Ministry.—The Building of a New Meeting-house.—Private Instruction and Solitary Study compared with Public Schools for Boys in Early Youth.

THE mineral spring in Stafford, in a wild valley of the Willimantic, was somewhat known for its healing virtues in certain maladies long before I first knew the place. But it was visited by valetudinarians only, previous to the beginning of the present century. Access to it was very difficult, and it was not frequented enough by visitors to induce any one to make comfortable provision for invalids ; and the thought of creating temptations for visitors in pursuit of pleasure had then probably never been suggested or dreamed of. It may be that I should not have heard of its existence, or should have ceased to remember it, and its reputed efficacy in certain diseases, had it not been visited by a young gentleman who became an inmate in my uncle's family

for the purpose of trying its curative power in his case, which was chronic rheumatism. This gentleman, of whom I retain a very affectionate remembrance, was John Winslow, son of the late Dr. Winslow of Marshfield, and of the fifth generation, if I mistake not, in direct descent from the governor of Plymouth of the same name. He afterwards visited me while I was member of College, at Commencement, when I had the pleasure to introduce him to the hospitalities of my father's house. It was from him, who was very short-sighted, that I learned for the first time, by looking through his spectacles, that I had the same infirmity, though not to the same degree. After I made the discovery, I remembered that I had often felt somewhat vexed that I could not distinguish different birds, or see them at the same distance as other boys did ; that in the grass fields they would find a dozen ripe strawberries where I found one, and on the play-ground would watch and seize the ball, when beaten to an unusual distance, before I could trace it.

The contrast between the President's house in Cambridge and that of my new abode did not give me any uneasiness, for early youth in the well-governed is pliable, soon reconciled to change, and its attention soon diverted from little inconveniences by novelty. The President's house, when I left it for my three years' absence, sixty-three years ago, that is, the body of the house, was the same as it is now, except the two small additions to the front rooms on the first floor, which, with an interval between the additions of three or four years, were built during the last six years of the last century. My uncle's house, with sufficient room, was but partially finished. A

large kitchen was the room in which the family did ordinarily congregate. The entrance from without was by a single door ; the dairy-room was in the rear, the stairs to the kitchen and dairy chambers next ; then the cellar stairs, then the entrance to each lower front room. A fire was seldom kept except in the kitchen and the study, unless my uncle had one or two pupils in addition to his nephews. But the household is of more consequence than the house.

Rev. John Willard was fifty-eight years old when I was put under his care. I had never seen him before. In his person he was tall, erect, and slender, of a grave but benignant countenance, and somewhat care-worn in its expression ; not, however, from a restless temperament, or unreasonable anxiety, or distrustful forebodings, — he confided too devoutly in Providence for this, — but from the trials and hardships of his lot. Among his studies, economy had been one of imperious necessity ; but it had never impaired the kindness and generosity of his temper and natural disposition, nor his all-embracing courtesy and charity. Everybody in his parish was by him called and felt to be a neighbor. And beyond this he gave to the term its widest Christian extension ; for the wayfaring man and the stranger were ever received by him with kind attention, and welcomed to his frugal board. Immediately I felt that I was not a prisoner under a hard master, but a child under the paternal care of a constant friend, ever watchful for my good ; that I had a home, in the endeared sense of the word.

The wife of my uncle was habitually an invalid, and could perform but a very small share of the more la-

borious female duties of the family. In addition to the duties common to all families, there were various matters of household industry which fell to the lot of her two daughters, who were patterns of fidelity, diligence, and patient toil, under labors sometimes, no doubt, more severe than their parents could wish. Within doors the dairy was an essential department, demanding much labor and care; and the spinning-wheels for wool and flax were always at hand for furnishing employment for those intervals of time that occurred in the pauses between portions of the daily routine of duty. These last were among the pleasing novelties that excited my youthful admiration; and I shall never forget the hum of the spinning-wheel, which often took from my unoccupied moments of rest all sense of weariness, and soothed my little troubles in hours of slight illness and pain.

While the precepts of the mother, laid down for the observance and intended for the good of the newcomers, were received by them with sobriety, the familiar kindness and communicativeness of the daughters saved us from all homesick tears. Our good uncle, too, had a tender consideration of our years and change of situation. Slightly, therefore, at first, did he task us with study; allowing us time to become wonted to the house, the household, and its surroundings. It was before the early harvest was over that we arrived at his house. The meadows were not all mowed, and the grains not all gathered in. The cattle and sheep were grazing in the pastures on highways, and there was much to invite and gratify our youthful curiosity. But we were not to be mere lookers-on. Our amusements were to be found

in the lighter parts of out-door labor ; in raking the hay and stowing it away in the barn, in tending the cattle and the sheep, in various matters about the house, and in errands, which gave us opportunities to ride on horseback. It was not long, however, before we had daily stated hours for study, and the occasional out-door labors were accounted by us as hours of recreation and pastime. In the spring and summer we assisted in the cultivation of the garden, having a little plat for ourselves. The cows and sheep were our special care in the grazing season, and when housed for the winter we acted as assistants or under express directions. But pleasant as these things were in the main, I am not sure that we tiny farmers, shepherds, and herdsmen acquired thereby any deeper relish for the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, or a more thorough comprehension of their meaning, or of their poetical beauties. These, veiled by the gross medium of the grammar and dictionary, remained for the enjoyment of after years, if ever. The culminating delight, which we enjoyed alternately, amidst the general sameness of our daily round, was to mount the family horse, and go on errands to different parts of the parish, and especially to the grist-mill, with a bag of corn on the saddle for a cushion, and to watch the grinding. There were no Dearborns, or pleasure-wagons, then, and no intermediate gradation between a light cart, with a body resting on the axle, and a chaise. There was but one chaise in Stafford, while I was there under tuition, and that was owned by Major Phelps, superintendent and principal proprietor of the furnace for casting hollow iron ware ; but it was seldom used, and I believe that he and his wife generally preferred the saddle and pillion.

The old family horse of my uncle (older than his young riders), who had so large a share in the family service, outlived our three years of tutelage, and became so familiar a friend that he allowed us many liberties, which, had we not become wary of his ways and gained his good-will, he might have repelled to our serious injury ; so that in our folly he would sometimes permit us to approach him in the pasture, and insert a green with in his mouth for bit and bridle, and, mounting, convert his field into a circus.

Our companionship with boys of like age was very limited, both in regard to number and to opportunity. There were few within a convenient distance for coming together, and I have no remembrance of much pleasure in mingling with them as playfellows. Within doors our recreations and amusements were, for the most part, in the strictest sense, domestic. Entertaining books, adapted to the ages of children of ordinary capacity from ten to twelve years, were rarely to be found. In the short days of winter, when the hour of twilight had passed, and the elders of the household were variously employed, there often remained to us an hour or two of listless taciturnity, or of dozing over a lesson, on which, instead, a cheering ray might have been shed by a moral tale told in a manner suited to quicken the youthful intellect, and impart instruction rather as an amusement than as a task.

Four boys were added to my uncle's pupils at different times, and for different periods of continuance, while I was one of the number ; neither of them, I believe, younger than myself. One of these was a son of Theodore Foster, of Providence, Rhode Island, a Senator

in Congress at that time, one from Springfield, and two from the southern part of Connecticut. From these we gained a little accession to our geographical knowledge of their respective localities, and enjoyed more variety in the manner of passing our leisure hours.

Once, during my three years' abode at my uncle's, the meeting of the association of ministers to which he belonged was held at his house. Neither of his two sons in the ministry,—John, the elder, in a small town in Connecticut, and Joseph, in Wilbraham,—probably, was a member of that association, but both were present. Besides these, I remember Mr. Ives of Monson, who came the evening before, and was very entertaining in conversation. Mr. Williams of Tolland was another, and there were several whose names I do not remember. Doubtless their conversation and their deliberations were for the most part grave, and pertinent to their professional calling; but if circumstantial evidence in the case is admissible, there must have been occasional episodes, such as to have caused, ever and anon, the involuntary, explosive laughter that rung through the domicile.

There was one weekly event on which the family and we boys as well, being a part thereof, feasted in anticipation, and enjoyed in its time. This was the arrival of the postman, or post-rider, as he was commonly called. From the coincidence of his name with that of his office I have never forgotten it. His name was Rider or Ryder, and his circuit was performed on horseback. The memory of his person and habits is now fresh in my mind. He knew how to time his arrival, which was generally about the noontide hour, when he

was wont to share in the family repast ; or if a little behind his time, he did not refuse to refresh himself with the remains. He brought a weekly Connecticut paper, the Hartford Courant, I think, and perchance a letter ; and recited, in addition, all the current news and gossip at his starting-place, and such as he gathered on the way, in minute detail. When it was all exhausted, thinking no doubt that his auditory had devoured his narrative with the same relish that he had eaten his food, and that the account of debt and credit was thereby balanced, he wended his way. But he never showed any signs of haste, except in the volubility of his discourse.

Rev. John Willard was ordained as the minister of the Congregational Church in Stafford, March 23d, 1757 ; thirty-seven years after the municipal government of the township was organized. He died February 16th, 1807, having, therefore, filled the office half a century, wanting twenty-four days. For the first twenty-two years his parish consisted of farmers and mechanics, and there appears to have been no want of effort among them to pay their minister for his services all that their means would enable them to raise. His salary was sixty pounds a year, which he was willing to receive, from those who could not conveniently pay their rates in money, either in labor or in things necessary or useful in his family. At the expiration of fifteen years of his ministry, 1772, the parish voted to build a new meeting-house, and began to feel their way towards accomplishing their purpose.* But several

* The history of this undertaking is so curious, that I here

years passed before the house was so far advanced as to be at all suitable for a place of public worship. It was not so in the summer of 1794, when I took my leave of the town. "The swallow there found a nest for herself" among the naked beams and joists of the roof.

But how had the good minister contrived to feed and clothe his family? (For, before I became his pupil, his three sons had all been graduated, the eldest at Yale College, and the other two at Harvard, and the two eldest already settled in the ministry; and the youngest, soon after, was established in the practice of physic in his native town.) It was especially by making his domicile a House of Industry; by systematic use and distribution of his time, and that of his household; by

annex a summary account of the proceedings condensed from the details contained in "A Sermon preached, 1843, at Stafford, Connecticut, by George H. Woodward, Pastor of the First Church."

First, there was a long hesitation about fixing the place of the building. "Finally, Daniel Alden, Esq. was appointed agent to invite the General Assembly to stick the stake." More than a year after the vote to build, a committee was chosen to receive the General Assembly's committee. Two years after the first action upon the subject, a building committee was chosen, and it was voted to raise one shilling on a pound to enable the committee to go on with the building. It was then voted, 1775, to take down part of the old building, to be used in erecting the new one. The frame was completed and inclosed by means of money already raised. Then a portion of the pew-ground was sold to furnish funds for completing the house. The wall-pews were first to be made, and those who bought the ground were to complete the walls adjoining. At a meeting of the society, March 13th, 1780, it was voted to sell the remaining pew-ground, and a committee was chosen to plan the ground and report. Their report

vigilance; by marking out the duties of the male members in particular from day to day. Thus it was that he acquired a clear property in his manse, with its thirty acres of ground, until it approximated to a self-supporting establishment. His garden supplied him with vegetables for the table, his tillage yielded a supply of maize and rye and potatoes; his upland and meadows produced grass for the cattle and sheep in their season, and hay for the long winter; one of the young beefeves, and one or more of the swine, were destined for slaughter in later autumn, and packed for future use; the sheep were sheared in sheering time, and their fleeces manufactured into hose and garments, and now and then one of the flock, or a lamb of the flock, was—I could look upon it but once—killed for food. His orchard yielded an ample supply of apples, early and

was not accepted. Another committee was appointed for the same purpose, whose report was accepted; and it was voted that each man who accepts the pew-ground pay the sum fixed by the committee into the treasury, said money to be laid out in purchasing glass to finish the windows, besides what the persons are to do that have said pews, and the rest of the money to be laid out towards finishing the building. The last vote on record is dated December 27th, 1802, thirty years after the vote to build. It was then ordered that four hundred dollars be raised to pay arrearages for work done on the building. “At first, the people met in it for worship without the benefit of the light of heaven, save what beamed in through the openings. It was simply covered for a shelter, and for more than a year there was preaching without a pane of glass in the house; when, out of compassion to the minister, they contrived to raise means to glaze one half of the pulpit window.”

Of Solomon’s Temple we are told when it was finished, “So was he seven years in building it.” 1 Kings vi. 38.

late, sweet and acid ; and if I had written twenty or thirty years ago, I might have added, that, after filling the barrels and bins with the selected fruit, there remained an abundant supply for being converted into that then favorite beverage, cider.

Still there must be money. The fruits of the earth are not of mere spontaneous growth, without regard to seed-time and time of maturity, and modes of culture. The planting, and tilling, and mowing, and reaping, and ingathering of the harvest, in their respective seasons, cannot be performed by one man, a parochial minister and teacher of private pupils, aided by the occasional work of two or three boys, whose chief business is with their books. True, but the man has a wonderful faculty of redeeming the time. Though spending much of it in his study, necessity has compelled him to have an eye to all his secular concerns. He knows all that each coming day demands. His boys have no vacations except the intervals between their study-hours, and no attractions to draw them away from home. Their master knows to what they are competent, and what they are most fitted to perform ; how far they can be trusted, and what he can require of them without discouraging them by toil onerous in degree or repulsive in its kind. The boys thus doing the lighter work, much time of the strong man is saved for severer labor.

Money, indeed, he had, and though little in amount, he knew how to use it, and knew this the better, for its being little. In addition to his mean salary of two hundred dollars a year, never promptly, and often not fully paid, was the small income from the pupils in his house, who, in a course of many years, while he was thus bur-

dened, seldom exceeded three in number at the same time, and did not average so many. His charge for board and instruction was a crown a week. Inadequate as these resources may seem, even for the common wants of a family, yet, by a prudent and skilful use of them during a ministry of fifty years, he closed his earthly toils free from debt, leaving to his heirs his house and farm, and some personal property ; in addition to which they recovered of the parish one thousand dollars, by legal process, for arrearages of his salary of two hundred dollars a year.

When I thought, in after years, of the out-door employments of the three years that I spent in so retired a place, and with so little variety, at the most playful period of life, although they afforded a pleasant recreation after the confinement of the study, and were favorable to health and purity of character for the time being, yet, being so exclusive, and also so tame compared with the hilarity of boys collected in play-hours in large groups, after a release from the restraint of the school-room, and animated by competition in their games, I became sensible that there were disadvantages as well as benefits in such a secluded abode, particularly as connected with solitary study. Trials of virtue and manliness of character must come at some time from mingling with associates of like pursuits and ages and conditions, and of various dispositions, and in groups or masses in which there is a mixture of good and evil. But, in such juvenile commonwealths, I am inclined to believe that the good generally predominates ; that truth and right usually prevail ; that their laws are commonly founded in justice, and their judgments based

on principles of equity. How often, in such little communities, we hear one member say to another, when some grave question comes up in their sports and games, "That was not fair," followed by the reply of the accused, "I will leave it to John, James, or Harry, or all three." The declarations, advocacy, verdicts, and judgments, though usually very prompt and summary in their ardor, are probably, in general, as impartial as those of legal tribunals. Truth, law, and equity commonly predominate; and they learn one of another what may be resented, and what forbore, and the benefit of acquiescence over lasting conflicts.

A youth of like age, a stranger just emerged from under the roof of his father or guardian, who has associated only with his parents or elders, or with two or three boys under the same watch, when he enters into such a miniature democracy as I have described, is wont to be either timid and suspicious, on the one hand, and thus to become a fair subject for the mischievous to play upon his fears and jealousies; or, on the other hand, to be too frank and confiding and credulous, and to come under the influence of those who take delight in imposing upon his credulity, and bring him into snares which mortify his pride, provoke his anger, sour his temper, and destroy his simplicity of character.

Solitary study, in very early youth, unless it be in cases of very great precocity of intellectual power and curiosity to learn, is not apt to be very successful. In their studies, as well as in their pastimes, boys learn much from one another. Praise from the master is more valued and blame more dreaded by the pupil, when he receives them among his competitors, than when they

are awarded in the private study. He values also the good opinion of his associates ; and the mutual helps in their studies, sought for, or voluntarily offered, or incidentally gained, twice blessed, tend alike to cherish the kind affections, and to enlarge the mind of him who gives and him who receives them. Considerations about birth and riches are merged in matters of higher import, and merit becomes the standard of nobility and wealth. Intimacies arise between those in the extremes of the social condition, as they are wont to be estimated according to conventional notions of rank, and thus ripen into friendships and mutual respect, which give to each a common chance of superiority in mature years.

Apart from all artificial contrivances to excite emulation, it belongs of necessity to the social state ; and to talk against the desire to excel in such a way as to condemn all comparison of one with another, and to maintain that all true excellence consists in the disinterested love of each particular independent pursuit, is an inversion of nature, and like a return from a social to an ascetic condition. The excellence at which one aims must always have some known standard, from which we may conceive and aim at something still higher. But the desire to excel belongs to us as much as any passion or desire that opens and expands with the growth of the mind. It is always at work. We can see it in childhood, youth, and manhood, as displayed in the competitions and rivalries belonging to their respective stages in life's progress. And why should it be, that while young men, who are entering on the active duties of life, and those in the midst of its busy employments,

are reaping one after another the fruits of their talents and industry, those in a state of pupilage should be denied the only appropriate rewards of their successful exertions?

There is at times a strange caprice and an overweening fastidiousness about excitements to youthful exertion and improvement; as if every child, if left to himself, would find out just what he was made for with as much certainty and fidelity to nature as the tree or plant acquires each its shape and size and peculiar beauty of foliage and flowers. But there has been less advancement or discovery in this matter than some imagine. One of the most learned of the ancient rhetoricians, whether as a writer or teacher,* who had enlarged views of human nature, of its capabilities, of the acuteness and docility of youth, thought that, though care should be taken not to task the young too severely lest they should come to have an incurable hatred of studies which they could not yet love, they should sometimes be praised and allowed to rejoice a little in their acquirements, and to think that they outstrip those who are engaged in the same race, and should be allure^d by such rewards as are appropriate to their years. "Give me," he says, "the youth who is excited by praise, gladdened by success, and mortified by defeat; he will be stung by reproof, and roused by honors; he will never be the victim of sloth."

Impressions received by me during two continuous years of seclusion, followed and strengthened by another year spent in the same way, after a week's interval, gave rise to these afterthoughts.

* Quintilian.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Journey to Cambridge.—Commencement.—Ride to Roxbury and Boston.—Return to Stafford.—Remain there another Year.—Life and Character of Rev. John Willard.—Take leave of him and enter College.—Preparation required for Admission.—“Customs.”—Wrestling of the Class with Sophomores.

AT the close of the second year of our domestication at Stafford, July, 1793, my brother and I had the joyful promise of a visit to our parental and fraternal home. The journey was performed on horseback, in company with our revered master. He had not been in Cambridge for many years, and had rarely been absent a single night from home during the two years preceding. One motive for his visit to Cambridge at that time might have been the fact that my elder brother, Augustus, who had been his pupil during the greater part of the time spent in his preparation for entering college, was to receive his bachelor’s degree at the coming Commencement. Manifestly this contemplated journey was to my uncle a great undertaking. For several days previous to its commencement the preparation for it occupied much of his time and thoughts; and on the day of starting, several hours were consumed by him (aided by the vigilance of his wife and daughters, lest

anything should be forgotten) in selecting his apparel and other matters, and in packing them in his portmanteau. Not long after midday we started on our journey; my good uncle taking leave of his family, as if he were about to cross the Atlantic, and make the tour of Europe. Before nightfall we arrived at the end of our half-day's journey; namely, at Brookfield, and at the house of Dwight Foster, a kinsman of my uncle's wife, a right worthy gentleman, lord of himself and eke of lands, whose barns and garners were never empty, whose larder was always full, whose hospitality was as wide as his domain. He was afterwards successively a Representative and Senator in the Congress of the United States.

Before the close of the third day we arrived at my father's house, when such greetings followed as all parents and all children of similar age and under similar circumstances know how to appreciate. It was near the close of the week before Commencement.

Commencement day at that time was a widely noted day, not only among men and women of all characters and conditions, but also among boys. It was the great literary and mob anniversary of Massachusetts, surpassed only in its celebrities by the great civil and mob anniversary, namely, the Fourth of July, and by the last Wednesday of May, Election day, so called, the anniversary of the organization of the government of the State for the civil year. But Commencement, perhaps most of all, exhibited an incongruous mixture of men and things. Besides the academic exercises within the sanctuary of learning and religion, followed by the festivities in the College dining-hall, and under temporary

tents and awnings erected for the entertainments given to the numerous guests of wealthy parents of young men who had come out successful competitors for prizes in the academic race, the large common was decked with tents filled with various refreshments for the hungry and thirsty multitudes, and the intermediate spaces crowded with men, women, and boys, white and black, many of them gambling, drinking, swearing, dancing, and fighting from morning to midnight. Here and there the scene was varied by some show of curiosities, or of monkeys or less common wild animals, and the gambols of mountebanks, who by their ridiculous tricks drew a greater crowd than the abandoned group at the gaming-tables, or than the fooleries, distortions, and mad pranks of the inebriates. If my revered uncle took a glimpse at these scenes, he did not see there any of our red brethren, as Mr. Jefferson kindly called them, who formed a considerable part of the gathering at the time of his graduation, forty-two years before; but he must have seen exhibitions of depravity which would disgust the most untutored savage. Near the close of the last century these outrages began to disappear, and lessened from year to year, until by public opinion, enforced by an efficient police, they were many years ago wholly suppressed, and the vicinity of the College halls has become, as it should be, a classic ground.

The only enterprise of my brother and myself, during our short stay in Cambridge, was a ride to Roxbury, and thence through Boston back again, over Charles River Bridge and through Charlestown. It was a great treat, after our horses were rested, to mount them again, and gaze at these large towns. Our only business was to

deliver a message from our father to Simon Willard of Roxbury, about his clock.

The day after Commencement, according to the intention of our uncle, towards evening, we began our journey of return, and stopped at Weston through the night, at the Rev. Dr. Kendall's, in compliance with his previous invitation; thus making a division of the ride of the two following days of about thirty-five miles each. On the second day, during an hour or two of rest at Worcester, my brother and I were indulged with a visit to the printing establishment of Isaiah Thomas, then of considerable notoriety, and to us a matter of great novelty. Previously, on the same day, in passing through Shrewsbury, Mr. Willard made a call on Artemas Ward, the first Major-General in the American army, and who was nearly contemporary with Mr. Willard at Harvard College. In the afternoon we were caught in a shower in Spencer, and took refuge at the house of a farmer, where we were comfortably housed, fed, and lodged, and the next day reached home, the home of us all for another year. After the rest of Sunday, we, the pupils, resumed our studies and other occupations. At the close of this third year my brother and I took affectionate leave of our faithful guardian and guide, of our respected aunt, and kind cousins. I was recommended for admission to College, and my brother was sent to the Academy at Andover.

In the recollection of thus withdrawing from the tutelage and domestic rule of our instructor and friend of our youth, I cannot forbear to devote a single paragraph more to his memory. At the time of his father's death, October 25, 1741, he was in the ninth year of his

age. Dr. Bulman of York, Maine, a friend of his father, afterwards chief surgeon of Sir William Pepperell's regiment at the reduction of Louisburg, took him into his family and sent him to school. He remained there until the following May, when the Rev. Mr. Rogers of Kittery, at whose house his father was taken suddenly ill, and died in a few days after, wrote to Josiah Willard of Boston, Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts, recommending the youth as one who deserved aid in obtaining a college education. The Secretary, Willard's great-uncle, readily attended to the suggestion, which received his approbation, and the youth was sent to Concord, Massachusetts, to be prepared for college, and was admitted in 1747. The expense of his education was defrayed chiefly by this generous relative. Often I heard him speak of his patron with the greatest affection and respect; and in a brief family memorial he described him as "a gentleman of polished manners, of humane and generous feelings, demonstrated by his deeds, of sterling intellectual gifts and literary cultivation," and, above all, of noiseless, unostentatious, but deep devotional character. This description from one who always found a home at the Secretary's house in his vacations, and when his time was not occupied elsewhere, comports with the character given of him in contemporaneous biographical notices, and in the traditional fact that the best word in the English language, when it is used as an individual characteristic, was commonly affixed to his name;— he was familiarly called the *good* Secretary.* The kindness which prompted him to af-

* Josiah Willard was the youngest son of Samuel Willard,

ford his patronage and pecuniary aid and parental oversight to his young kinsman, were repaid on the part of the latter by gratitude to his benefactor, and by emulating his exalted virtues ; for the Rev. John Willard was, according to his opportunities and means of manifesting his virtues, remarkable for his courtesy, kindness, benevolence, and hospitality ; and his domestic and social virtues were sanctified by conscience pure and enlightened, and by religion penetrating his heart and governing his life. At mature age, and at several different times, I spent a few days at his house, and can truly say, that, from all I knew of him personally, and all that I heard of him from others whose knowledge of him was great and whose opinions were trustworthy, he was in its best and most comprehensive sense a *good man.*

It was in July, 1794, that I was offered for admission to Harvard College. The amount of study then required for preparation was very small. In Latin the *Æneid* of Virgil and Cicero's Select Orations were the complement, and in Greek the Greek Testament only

minister of the Old South Church in Boston and Vice-President of Harvard College. After he took his degree at Harvard College, he was a Tutor and Librarian for a year or more, and afterwards travelled for some years in foreign countries ; made several voyages to the West Indies ; and became to such a degree a practical navigator, that he commanded a ship in the London trade. He was appointed Secretary of the Massachusetts Colony by George I., June, 1717, which office he held until his death, December 6, 1756. During part of the time that he held this office he was also Judge of Probate and a member of the Governor's Council.

was required. There was no examination in the grammars of these languages, except what arose from the passages translated. A few lines of English, consisting of forty or fifty words, were given to each, to be translated into Latin. The translations were reserved for the inspection of all the examiners, until they met to compare their marks and to decide on the fitness of the candidates severally for admission. In doubtful cases of fitness for admission, in Latin, the translation of English into Latin, or making of Latin, as it was called, had considerable weight in deciding yea or nay.

Apprehension of the severity of the examination, or what in after times, by an academic figure of speech, was called screwing, or a screw, was what excited the chief dread. Although indeed it was an hour of trembling to many, yet the ordeal did not prove to be a fiery trial, either by its severity or continuance. More than fifty candidates were examined that year on the same day, in six divisions, in succession ; the precedence in time being given to those from the most remote schools or academies or private teachers. They were severally examined in one room by the four Tutors, according to the order prescribed. From this unsatisfactory mode of examination, which kept so many candidates waiting for their turn, and yet allowed so little time for the examination of each, there was no change until the increased requirements for admission to College of which I have spoken, and which were published in the last year of President Willard's administration, went into effect. Then the Professors were enlisted with the Tutors, and, by taking different rooms, and examining in different books or different departments, the candidates

were all under examination at the same time, passing from one to another room in succession until the round was finished.

To return to my own time, of which I was speaking, the candidates who were accepted by the Tutors were sent to the President, who usually gave them a passage of Latin or Greek to translate, but never, I believe, reversed the decision of the Tutors, or recommended a further trial of the fitness of any one for admission to College. It was my lot, with one other Cambridge lad, to be examined with the class offered from the Boston Latin School, then under Master Hunt, the grandfather of Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell, who was graduated in 1827, and was for many years the distinguished Principal of the same school. *Master* was, in Mr. Hunt's time, the usual prænomen of the head of a grammar school, as before in the honored name of Lovel, so also of Moody of Dummer Academy, and others. With one exception, the Boston boys were more fluent in translation, and manifested a better command of English, than I was capable of. This might be expected from their more thorough training and being long associated together and reciting in the same class, or from my own inferiority in other respects.

The whole number matriculated in 1794, including those who entered at the end of the summer vacation, was, I believe, sixty-three. But the number was much reduced in the course from the starting-place to the goal. Some thought themselves too old, some were too indolent, remiss, or dissipated, and some too much inclined to other pursuits, to prolong the period of subjection to academic discipline for four years; so that, by deser-

tion and dismission, the number who completed the *curriculum* and received its crowning honor dwindled down to forty-eight.

It was the practice, at the time of my entrance at College, for the Sophomore class, by a member selected for the purpose, to communicate to the Freshmen, in the Chapel, "the Customs," so called ; the Freshmen being required to "keep their places in their seats, and attend with decency to the reading." These customs had been handed down from remote times, with some modifications not essentially changing them. Not many days after our seats were assigned to us in the Chapel, we were directed to remain after evening prayers and attend to the reading of the customs ; which direction was accordingly complied with, and they were read and listened to with decorum and gravity. Whether the ancient customs of outward respect, which forbade a Freshman "to wear his hat in the College yard, unless it rains, hails, or snows, provided he be on foot, and have not both hands full," as if the ground on which he trod and the atmosphere around him were consecrated, and the article which extends the same prohibition to all undergraduates, when any of the governors of the College are in the yard, were read, I cannot say ; but I think they were not ; for it would have disturbed that gravity which I am confident was preserved during the whole reading. These prescripts, after a long period of obsolescence, had become entirely obsolete.

The most degrading item in the list of customs was that which made Freshmen subservient to all the other classes ; which obliged those who were not employed by the immediate government of the College to go

on any errand, not judged improper by an officer of the government, or in study hours, for any of the other classes, the Senior having the prior right to the service. The Overseers, so early as the year 1772, if not earlier in the period of civil revolutionary feeling and action, recommended to the Corporation the abolishing of the custom. But the Corporation voted, that, "after deliberate consideration, and weighing all circumstances, they are not able to project any plan in the room of this long and ancient custom, that will not, in their opinion, be attended with equal, if not greater inconveniences." The privilege of claiming such service, and the obligation, on the other hand, to perform it, doubtless gave rise to much abuse, and sometimes to unpleasant conflict. A Senior having a claim to the service of a Freshman prior to that of the classes below them, it had become a practice not uncommon, for a Freshman to obtain a Senior to whom, as a patron and friend, he acknowledged and avowed a permanent service due, and whom he called *his* Senior by way of eminence, thus escaping the demands that might otherwise be made upon him for trivial or unpleasant errands. The ancient custom was never abolished by authority, but died with the change of feeling ; so that what might be demanded as a right came to be asked as a favor, and the right was resorted to only as a sort of defensive weapon, as a rebuke of a supposed impertinence or resentment of a real injury. The refusal to perform a reasonable service required by a member of the class above him subjected the Freshman to a complaint to be brought before his Tutor, technically called hoisting him to his Tutor. The threat was commonly sufficient to exact the service.

Next to being indoctrinated in the Customs, so called, by the Sophomore class, there followed the usual annual exhibition of the athletic contest between that class and the Freshman class, namely, the wrestling match. On some day of the second week in the term, after evening prayers, the two classes assembled on the play-ground and formed an extended circle, from which a stripling of the Sophomore class advanced into the area, and, in terms justifying the vulgar use of the derivative word Sophomorical, defied his competitors, in the name of his associates, to enter the lists. He was matched by an equal in stature, from that part of the circle formed by the new-comers. Beginning with these puny athletes, as one and another was prostrated on either side, the contest advanced through the intermediate gradations of strength and skill, with increasing excitement of the parties and spectators, until it reached its summit by the struggle of the champion or coryphaeus in reserve on each of the opposite sides. I cannot now affirm with certainty the result of the contest; whether it was a drawn battle, whether it ended with the day, or was postponed for another trial. It probably ended in the defeat of the younger party, for there were more and mightier men among their opponents. Had we been victorious, it would have behooved us, according to established precedents, to challenge the Junior class, which was not done. Such a result, if it had taken place, could not fade from the memory of the victors; while failure, on the contrary, being an issue to be looked for, would soon be dismissed from the thoughts of the vanquished. Instances had occurred of the triumph of the Freshman class, and one of them recent, when a chal-

lenge in due form was sent to the Juniors, who, thinking the contest too doubtful, wisely resolved to let the victors rejoice in their laurels already won ; and, declining to meet them in the gymnasium, invited them to a sumptuous feast instead.

Wrestling was at an after period, I cannot say in what year, superseded by football ; a grovelling and inglorious game in comparison. Wrestling is an art : success in the exercise depends not on mere bodily strength. It had, at the time of which I have spoken, its well-known and acknowledged technical rules, and any violation of them, alleged against one who had prostrated his adversary, became a matter of inquiry. If it was found that the act was not achieved *secundum artem*, it was void, and might be followed by another trial.

CHAPTER XV.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Studies of the Freshman Class.—Tutors in the different Departments.—Micah Stone in Latin.—Abiel Abbot in Greek.—William Amherst Barron in Mathematical Studies.—Professor Webber in Mathematics.—Professor Pearson in English Grammar and Hebrew.—Studies continued or added in succeeding Years.—Logic and Metaphysics, by Levi Hedge.—Latin, by Luther Stearns, John Pierce, and James Hawley.—Greek, by John Snelling Popkin.—Rhetoric and English Composition, by Professor Pearson.—Mathematics, by Professor Webber.—Geometry, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy, by Mr. Barron.—Moral and Religious Instruction, by Professor Tappan.

COME we now to graver matters. The principal studies of the first year were Latin and Greek. Besides these, there was one lesson a week in Hebrew or French, one in English Grammar, one in Arithmetic, and one in reading English extracts before the Tutor of the class. It was now that I began to feel seriously the disadvantage under which I labored from the habit of solitary study and recitation under a private instructor, compared with the confidence which most of the class had acquired in the best schools and academies. Among many of these there was a promptness in the translation of the passages which fell to them in the

Greek and Latin lessons, and an apparent reliance upon themselves, which seemed to me truly enviable, and even to atone for their errors and to grace their imperfections. They could bear correction without embarrassment, and still remain in doubt. Many a schoolboy, says Gibbon, has been whipped for mistranslating a sentence which Burman could not interpret nor Bentley explain. And it certainly requires some boldness, and even bravery, to rush through a tangled period with such dexterity as to give a seemingness of meaning, without comprehending the analysis.

The tasks required of us both in Latin and Greek were not to be complained of on account of their length; and if we ever thought otherwise, or sometimes affected so to think, it was made known by some significant demonstration; and if the Tutor was convinced of the sincerity of the complaint, or feared that he was exacting too much, he would listen to it, and redress the grievance. Sallust, Livy, and Horace, Homer's Iliad, and Xenophon's Anabasis, were the only books in Latin and Greek in the prescribed course of study. In Latin we began with Sallust, under the direction of Micah Stone, who was graduated in the year 1790, and began simultaneously with the entrance of my class to perform the duties of Tutor. Every now and then we stumbled at some of the peculiar phraseology of our author, and were not always sure that we had recovered and gained a firm standing, even by the aid of our master. In his explanations and commentaries, his manner was hesitant, embarrassed, and confused; so that the disciple was sometimes wearied and perplexed, instead of being refreshed and enlightened. What was the ex-

tent of ground we went over in our first year I do not remember. The whole of Sallust, I suppose, was recited, and probably part of the first book of Livy and the Odes of Horace. Latin and Greek recitations were held in alternate weeks. Mr. Stone resigned his office at the end of the academical year, and several years afterwards was settled in the ministry at Brookfield, Massachusetts. He died in the year 1852.

In Greek we began our study under Abiel Abbot, a graduate of the class of 1787, a class remarkable for the longevity of three of its members, one in each of the learned professions ; viz. Abiel Abbot, S.T.D., William Cranch, LL.D., Judge of the Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, and Walter Hunnewell, M. D., of Watertown. Mr. Abbot remained in office but one year. In his mode of instruction he was deliberate and exact, and his bearing towards his pupils was in all respects pleasing. Upon an application made to President Willard by the parish committee of Coventry, Connecticut, to name a candidate for the ministry there, Mr. Abbot was highly recommended by him, and, after having preached there several Sundays, was ordained as the minister of the place. He was naturally watched by his professional brethren in the neighboring towns, as having come among them from a suspected quarter, where the standard of Orthodoxy was considered to be defective ; and after having remained in the ministry of Coventry, much beloved by his people generally, for several years, he was arraigned before the consociation of ministers in the district including Coventry, convicted of heresy, positive or negative, or both, and deposed. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical body

was not acknowledged ; but Mr. Abbot was too forbearing and conscientious to become even the innocent occasion of schism, and sought and found a more genial abode. He became the minister of Peterborough, and, I believe, still retains the relation of senior pastor of the Congregational Church in that place. He is the only surviving member of those who composed the Immediate Government when I was an undergraduate, and is about ninety years of age.

In the Sophomore year of my class, Mr. Stone was succeeded by Luther Stearns, a graduate of the class of 1791. He was a gentleman of great modesty and amenity of manners, of a slender frame, and apparently of feeble constitution. He was an elder brother of Asahel Stearns, who was for twelve years, 1817–1829, College Professor of Law, and is remembered by many for his professional learning and fidelity in imparting it, and for his excellent character. I count three of the nephews of these gentlemen who have since their time been concerned in the instruction of students in the University ; one as a lecturer in the Law School, and two as Tutors in the academical department ; showing how the business of teaching will sometimes multiply in the same family. Mr. Stearns, our Tutor, remained in this office but one year. He studied physic, and received the regular medical degrees at the University ; but did not pursue the practice of physic to a great extent. For several years he kept a private school established by himself at Newton, and afterwards in Medford, and died in the year 1820.

In our third year we had our third Tutor in Latin, Mr. John Pierce, who remained in office eight or nine

months, until near the time of his ordination over the church in Brookline. Under his instruction, our prescribed period for the study of Latin drew near to its close. The parting between him and his particular class,* of which I was one, was accompanied with feelings of mutual regard. Several of the class attended his ordination, in the spring of 1797. Though we were not able to obtain entrance into the small meeting-house, we received hospitable entertainment after the services at the house of a member of the parish. Mr. Pierce continued to be a loyal son of the College, and a constant attendant at Commencement and Exhibitions, taking notes of various matters relating to the performances, such as he thought worthy of record. After the clerical part of the Board of Overseers became elective, in 1810, saving the right of the members *ex officio* then remaining in the Board, he was chosen to fill the first vacancy that occurred; namely, in 1816; and soon after was elected Secretary of the Board, which office he held until his death, or his inability to perform its duties. The manuscript Diary of Dr. Pierce, in several quarto volumes, embracing records of many years, doubtless contains many curious and important facts about the University, and various other matters.

The fourth and last of our tutors to whom we recited

* Each of the Tutors had one class, of which he was charged with a certain oversight, and of which he was called the particular Tutor. The several Tutors in Latin successively sustained this relation to my class. Warnings of various kinds, private admonitions for negligence or minor offences, and, in general, intercommunication between his class and the Immediate Government, were the duties belonging to this relation.

in Latin was James Hawley. It was but a few weeks before the spring vacation, after which came the fourth quarter, as the terms and vacations were then arranged, and the Juniors were no longer required to study Latin. Mr. Hawley was a very worthy man, and looked with a single eye to his duty. Literally speaking, and organically, he saw but with one eye; but he was a far-seeing and straight-forward man, and during our short acquaintance with him was well liked by the class. He resigned his office in about a year, and was succeeded by Mr. William Wells a few weeks before our *class-day*, as it is now called, which was then on the 21st of June. Mr. Wells was known to us as an eminent scholar, having been two years contemporary with us as an undergraduate, and two years before us in College. After he left the University he spent many years in teaching. He still lives, in vigorous old age, cheered by remembrance of past useful labors, enjoying the present, and discarding all useless anxiety about the future.

The number of Tutors in the Latin department from Commencement, 1794, to Commencement, 1798, was five, none of them exceeding one year. This was unprecedented in any department, and has never occurred since. It may well be supposed that it was unfortunate for the class. In Greek it was otherwise. Though our first tutor remained but one year, the second continued with us to the end.

John Snelling Popkin succeeded Abiel Abbot in the Greek department, at the beginning of the academical year 1795, and continued in that office three years. We found no escape from his vigilance. Exact and unwearied in his mode of instruction, and resolute and

frank also in his mode of government, he was respected by all, even by those who would not have been displeased with a more lax system in both. His reputation was lasting among the true friends of the College, and seventeen years after his resignation of the tutorship, he was invited to enter again upon the duties of the same department as its permanent head, with the title of College Professor, and with the same salary as the Professors whose offices are based upon endowments. On his return to College in 1815, I was the only member of the Faculty who had known him as a pupil, and Professor Hedge the only remaining member of the Faculty with whom Mr. Popkin had been associated. President Willard, of whom he spoke in terms of high respect and affection, as I have shown in another place, Professor Webber, who succeeded him as President, and Professor Tappan, were all dead, and Professor Pearson had resigned his office. But a President was in the chair who knew how to appreciate the character and learning of Popkin, and by whose instrumentality, in great part, the latter was invited and consented to resume his connection with the University, of which event I shall speak further in its proper place.

Besides Greek and Latin, the principal studies of the Freshman class, we had one lesson a week in English Grammar. This study was under the direction of Professor Eliphilet Pearson, Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages. Previous to his appointment to this office, in the year 1785, there had been no provision for the study of the English language. The foundation of this professorship was small, and the students in Hebrew were few, and in the other Oriental languages

there was seldom one. There were none, I am confident, who studied any other than the Hebrew while I was an undergraduate. In the class which was graduated in 1794, the year I entered, there was one who was reputed to have studied Chaldee and Syriac and Arabic, and who made some pedantic displays of his learning; but whether he studied with the Professor or not, I am not able to say. The design of the professorship (though it had been held by an eminent Oriental scholar) was so far from being fulfilled, that, previous to the accession of Mr. Pearson, the statutes were enlarged, so as to comprehend instruction in "the general principles of Grammar, particularly of the English language, and in English composition." This addition comprised the chief labors of the incumbent. He required of us a verbal recital of the definitions marked in Lowth's English Grammar, and examined us in the notes and illustrations appended to the text. The ages of our class varied from fourteen, or a few months less, to five-and-twenty years; and some of them probably had been teachers, in country district schools, of Bingham's Young Ladies' Accidence, accompanied with their own learned commentaries, and prided themselves on their grammatical knowledge; and even the younger, who had studied Latin and Greek, were apt to think it rather a condescension to go back to their native language, deeming themselves sufficiently skilled in the use of their own tongue; so that we were sometimes restless when subtle questions pressed too closely upon us, and were rather resigned to the Professor's logical analyses, than ambitious to display our own learning.

From English Grammar we were advanced to an

abridgment of Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric. We were required to commit to memory the definitions and rules contained in this small text-book ; were examined by questions to ascertain whether we understood them, and were instructed by the Professor by means of examples in the author and by his own explanations and critical remarks, in order to enable us to understand more fully the meaning of the rules. And now, it being supposed that we knew enough of grammar and rhetoric to avoid or detect palpable solecisms and grotesque and false figures of speech, we were put by the Professor to the correction of bad English, contained in specimens handed to us in manuscript. Abandoning these leading-strings, we were left to the perilous excitement of trying to go alone. It was with fear and trembling that some of us made the attempt ; but here and there one began to advance with a firm and elastic step ; and, if I mistake not, the master who superintended the whole was disposed to smooth our way, and to be more patient with *us*, little men, than with the grown men. It was the practice of the Professor to make his remarks upon the written compositions of each one, before the whole class. Although we were curious enough to listen, and sometimes heard remarks intended for the benefit of the whole, yet perhaps they were more frequently intended for the individual, even when they were overheard by his classmates ; and not unfrequently occasioned an unpleasant feeling on the part of the writer, repaid perhaps in part by comment of an opposite character.

Professor Pearson had the art of pruning in great perfection. Some of our most ambitious and our best

writers thought that he pruned to excess, and thus despoiled an elaborate sentence of its beauty and harmony by lopping off its epithets and condensing its amplifications, and leaving only a bald aphorism in its place. In my maturer judgment I have thought that he sometimes pursued this severe criticism beyond its legitimate boundaries, and sacrificed a not ungraceful idiom or periphrasis, by ridding a sentence of all superfluous words. He was, however, indulgent to the faults of those who manifested strength of thought, or taste in expressing it, or signs of self-culture ; while his criticisms left an enduring impression on the minds of many, of which they felt the benefit in after life, and gave evidence of it by manifest care in their own writings, and imparted the benefit by performing their share of the labor of preserving the "well of English undefiled." Dean Swift said of himself, upon some occasion, in regard to his own writings : "It hath been my constant business to examine whether I could find the smallest lapse in style or propriety, through my whole collection ; that I might send it abroad as the most finished piece." This was very laudable, and a difficult work also, according to his own showing, for in another place he speaks of the English language as very refractory, and said that "in many instances it offended against every part of Grammar." This appears to me to be a strange paradox ; or rather, in its obvious meaning, unphilosophical, if not absurd. The grammatical rules of every language are nothing else than the result of the best usage in its forms and combinations. Each language has its Grammar adapted to the language. Anomalies and peculiar idioms may and do exist in each, and to an extent

greater in some than in others ; but this does not affect the general principle. Grammar being founded in the usage of language at any particular period, its object is to preserve and perpetuate this usage, and not, on the other hand, to introduce abstract principles in order to make the language conform to them. This would invert the order of things, and require the more difficult part of unlearning what had already been considered to be permanently established. If, on the other hand, the charge against the English language, of offending against all parts of Grammar, was aimed against the authors of his age who were in favor with the public, it was a gross exaggeration, from the blame of which he might well wish to escape by the vagueness of the accusation.

From this digression, into which I have been unwittingly led, I return to College, and call to remembrance a respected instructor, whose patient labors were in part wasted upon many of his pupils ; namely, Samuel Webber, Professor of Mathematics from 1789 to 1806. No acquaintance with arithmetic was required for entering College until after the beginning of the present century. It would have been well had it been otherwise ; for it seemed to be presumed that all had made some progress in it previous to their examination for admission, and that they had become so familiar with the use of figures in the simple rules, that a rapid review was all that was requisite. Many, however, were slightly practised in them, and consequently the march was too rapid for their infant steps ; so that they fell in the rear, and, continually following, failed to overtake those who were in advance, if they did not wholly give up the pursuit. The result was, that there were few,

even among the more brilliant scholars, who made substantial acquirements in the higher branches of mathematics ; although, I believe, the College course required did not extend beyond Algebra and Conic Sections. To the Junior and Senior Classes the Professor delivered annually a course of lectures, comprising the various branches of Natural Philosophy, accompanied with experiments performed with what was then considered a good apparatus. Attendance on these lectures was not compulsory, and consequently they were not followed by an examination of those who attended them. They were, however, well attended, and were listened to with much interest ; and if any experiment failed, or any *faux pas* occurred, or anything ludicrous resulted from an experiment, the Professor enjoyed and smiled upon a reasonable degree of merriment which usually followed ; but I do not remember on any occasion that anything intentionally offensive or indecorous took place in his presence. To the Senior Class the Professor delivered a short course of lectures on Astronomy. This, I believe, was not required of him, and I am not sure that they were delivered annually.

In his delivery Professor Webber was slow and distinct. His experiments seldom failed. They were performed with care and explained with clearness and precision. For the lack of vivacity in his manner and utterance, he made compensation by the evident desire of making himself understood ; and in this he succeeded so fully, that he was sure to gain the attention of all who wished to learn, and was always ready to answer their questions, to remove their difficulties and solve their doubts. In his manners and address, and in all cases of

ceremony, he was remarkable for uniformity. Caution marked all his acts, intentions, and promises. I remember, in my Freshman year, when I was sent by the President to summon the Professors and Tutors to a meeting of the Immediate Government, a message which occurred often, I could anticipate his answer in its precise words, unless for some valid reason he was obliged to excuse himself from attending: "Give my respects to the President, and tell him I will *endeavor* to attend." Whether the meeting was to be held forthwith, or at any coming hour of the day, the answer was always the same. At the close of every philosophical lecture he thus announced the following (the hour being uniformly the same): "The next lecture may be expected" on such a day. In his intercourse with the students in the recitation-room, whether in questions relating to their lessons or the performance of examples in their mathematical studies, or their behavior, I never saw any signs of irritability or perturbation; and the students, well knowing his patience and perfect self-control, never put those virtues to a trial except by their ignorance of their lessons, or an involuntary levity, which was checked at once by a look of grave rebuke.

Two of the Tutors who were in office when I entered College I have not spoken of; namely, Foster Waterman and William Amherst Barron. Mr. Waterman was in the department of Logic and Metaphysics, studies not required of Freshmen. He remained in office but one year, and consequently we had no knowledge of him as an instructor. His after history, if the information that I received was correct, was lamentable. He became intoxicated by the hope of obtaining riches

from the bowels of the earth ; but failing in his sanguine expectations, and dispirited, his recuperative energies were not strong enough to draw him to a safer path, and he became an idle wanderer. Thus far I was told by one who I supposed knew the truth of the matter. What was his end I know not, nor where ; but he lived to the age of more than threescore years and ten.

Mr. Barron's tutorship in the mathematical department began with the commencement of the academical year 1793. I am not sure whether my class came under his instruction during our first year, 1794. Our first lessons, however, under his direction, were in Morse's Geography, beginning with the use of the Terrestrial Globe, and solving the problems. His manner of aiding us in this work excited much interest in the learners, and great regard for the instructor. We then read the two large volumes of the Geography, and were questioned in its prolix details according to the judgment of the Tutor concerning their relative importance, and answered such questions as our memories enabled us to answer. Afterwards Enfield's History of Philosophy, Euclid's Elements of Geometry, and Ferguson's Astronomy, were our text-books. Mr. Barron was a man of ability, familiar with the authors used in his department, and with the subjects taught ; of quick discernment, and of great readiness and facility in imparting instruction. His illustrations were familiar, and often amusing in their kind, but pertinent also and remarkably clear and intelligible. But he was indolent, and seemed to have no ambition for distinction and celebrity among scientific men. In regard to diet his inclination and habits

required considerable supplementary provision for making up the defects of daily commons, and the indulgence of his epicurean propensities made such demands upon his small salary as sometimes to leave an unwelcome deficit in balancing his quarterly accounts. Among his contemporaries in office he was social and playful, fond of *bonmots*, conundrums, and puns, and seldom seemed disposed to favor very grave topics, or to aspire to any elevated standard of conversation on any subject. Invitations to evening parties of ladies and gentlemen he always declined or failed to accept; and abjured them altogether.

After I was chosen to the office of Librarian of the College, in the spring of 1800, and consequently had my chamber in one of the College buildings, and breakfasted and dined in the College hall, I not only met him daily in the hall, but he frequently visited my chamber. His connection with the College ceased a few months afterwards, he having received the commission of Captain in the American army. I remember that, in a recommendation of him from my father, President Willard, for that office, he spoke of him as a relative of the celebrated General Amherst, a collateral relationship, I believe. He visited Cambridge a few years after he took his station in the army, and I spent an evening with him at the house of Professor Hedge, and heard from his own lips, what I supposed to be a sincere acknowledgment, that a life of indolent leisure accorded well with his propensities and feelings. He exclaimed to Mr. Hedge, his contemporary in office at College: "You can't think how happy I am; I've nothing under the sun to do."

The late Dr. Hedge entered upon his office as Tutor in the department of Logic and Metaphysics in the year 1795, the same year that his classmate and intimate friend, Popkin, came to enjoy his hours of revel in Grecian lore. They were great acquisitions to the College, as well in its government as in their respective departments of instruction. In government they wrought well together and apart, and in their mode of instruction they were exact, constant, and laborious. With three exceptions only, if I have counted right, the period of Mr. Hedge's service as Tutor and Professor (with certain modifications and transitions, but still of continued service) exceeded that of any other officer of instruction in the University who had preceded him.*

* The first exception in the order of time is Henry Flynt,—Father Flynt, as he was always called by those who had been his pupils in the latter part of his life, although he had lived and died a bachelor. He stands first in the Catalogue of Tutors, and was in office fifty-five years continuously, and after the first eight years of his tutorship he was a member of the Corporation, in which office he remained six years after he resigned his tutorship, so that the whole time of his connection with the College in these offices was sixty-one years. Many traditionaly humorous anecdotes concerning him were handed down from one generation to another, which, in the century that has nearly elapsed since his death, have almost faded away.

The elder Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity, filled this office forty-four years; namely, from 1721 to 1765, the year of his decease.

John Winthrop, the second Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, held this office from 1738 to 1779, the year of his death.

Levi Hedge was Tutor in Logic and Metaphysics from 1795 to 1810; in which last-named year he was elected Professor in

During three years, beginning with Watts's Logic, continuing with Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, and ending with Burlamaqui's Principles of Natural and Political Law, we were patiently, faithfully, and kindly disciplined by him in these abstruse studies. They who did not understand their meaning, if they were gifted with a ready memory, recited eloquently the words of the author. The gift seemed to be an enviable one, unless, perchance, as it sometimes happened, they who were thus gifted were confounded by questions, of the pertinency of which they had not the slightest apprehension. They perceived in the questions no smack of anything contained in the lesson.

Logic was a study of the Sophomore year ; a time suited to the mechanical structure of simple syllogisms, which in former times were complicated and elaborated into learned logical arguments that made the chief part of the public academical exhibitions. The study of Logic and Metaphysics added something to our knowledge, and not less, among a portion of us, to our pedantry and innocent frivolity ; and led us as often perhaps to weak and foolish fallacies, as to valid reasoning and just conclusions. Metaphysics, as a scholastic study, has been

the same department, and continued in this office until 1827, when he was chosen Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, which had been vacant five years after the death of Professor Frisbie, who held that office five years, and was the first incumbent. Professor Hedge resigned in 1832. When he was chosen Alford Professor, the instruction in Logic was transferred to the Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. The whole period of Dr. Hedge's services as Tutor and Professor was thirty-seven years.

entitled by some one, "Mental Gymnastics." It is to a certain extent descriptive of the effects of the study, without necessarily disparaging the science. The study excites and invigorates the intellectual powers, and leads to generalizations adapted to various professions and pursuits. It is a favorite academical branch of study with young men of strong minds, and tends to strengthen the minds of those who have not reached the same maturity. I believe it was as faithfully pursued by as many in my class, and has been by as many of other classes since, as that of any department. Dr. Hedge was thought by some to be especially pleased with those who recited from the text-book, in the words of the author; but he was no less pleased, however, with those who in their own phraseology expressed clearly the reasoning of the author, or with those who modestly doubted or dissented from his hypotheses and arguments, and showed any ingenuity or justness in maintaining their grounds of dissent, or mingled any reflections or amplifications of thought with those of the author, which gave evidence of thoughtful study. Thus encouraged, mutually, Professor and pupils, he went a step further, and instituted voluntary discussions upon topics contained in the text-book, as they occurred, or as they suggested kindred subjects. In this experiment he had considerable success, and sometimes it drew out an ability beyond his expectation, not only from among the foremost, but also from among those in whom he looked for it the least.

After many years' teaching Dr. Hedge prepared and published his "Elements of Logic," in the year 1816. This was soon extensively used in colleges and other

seminaries of learning in the United States, as a text-book. In some treatises on Logic syllogisms are made the paramount tests of all reasoning, and great reliance is placed on their various forms and technical classification. Whately goes to the extreme in these matters, and to the full extent in reviving the "Figures" of the syllogism, the combination for signs in the "Moods,"— four majors, with their minors, and sixteen pair of premises, &c.,— and pronounces Aristotle, though not perfect, to be the only writer on Logic who has perceived and constantly preserved its boundaries; in a word, as a philosopher with whom the system began and ended. Dr. Hedge threw the scholastic jargon into his notes; still treating of syllogisms amply for the purposes of his work. Notwithstanding its brevity, syllogistic reasoning is treated more intelligibly than in any work I have seen, particularly so in the explanation of the "terms." The art is not unduly magnified, and his mode of treating it well corresponds with the real and comprehensive paragraph with which his book concludes. After warning the student not to trust exclusively to rules and models, it is added: "He should dwell on the operations of his own mind, and mark the difficulties which prevent his arriving at clear conclusions; whether they arise from misapprehensions of the subject, from the ambiguity of language, from weakness in the power of attention, or from the biases of association. He will thus insensibly form a Logic for himself, which, while it embraces the rules common for all minds, will be adapted to the improvement of his own." This is true and liberal; the conclusion of one who knew that the mechanism of the structure did not require the same

extent of genius as that of the inventor or the architect, nor supersede it.

The influence of Dr. Hedge on the welfare of the University, as well in government as in instruction, was uniformly favorable, during his long continuance in office. His entrance upon its duties was auspicious. During the three previous years he had been the first Preceptor of the Academy in Westford, of a very numerous school, and offered a considerable number of pupils for admission to College, well prepared, and, moreover, brought with him a good name in every respect,—the best of riches. In such a school he had therefore been accustomed to hard work, and his physical constitution enabled him to bear it. A more devoted and indefatigable worker the College has not known. His traditional character in the Academy, and, after a few years' continuance at College, his readiness to give advice and aid to parents and teachers concerning their sons and pupils, and to pupils at their entrance and during their continuance as undergraduates, were such as to super-add to his round of official duties a multitude of services valuable to those immediately concerned, and indirectly beneficial to the University, by securing their personal good-will, and extending it to that of the public. To all he was at all times accessible, and all were treated by him with politeness,—politeness without the artificial formalities which repel the freedom that it is its true end to encourage. Though he lived to old age, he would probably have lived and labored longer, if, in his advanced years, he had not been overtaxed; if he had felt permitted to throw off the burdens by which he was oppressed, when he began to feel their crushing weight,

and if time had been allowed him more freely to diversify his thoughts and recreations at home and abroad. In 1832 he resigned his office of Alford Professor, and lived twelve years after that time.

The Rev. David Tappan was inducted into the office of Hollis Professor of Divinity in the year 1792, having previously sustained a distinguished reputation as a preacher and divine, and adorned the doctrines he taught by a rich and glowing style, and a manner of delivery conforming to the solemnity of the doctrine and to the means requisite to give it its full effect on the understanding and the heart. He was not burdened with severe duties in the private lecture-room. Eight years before that time the Professor of Divinity, Dr. Wigglesworth, who had from time to time held a "catechetical exercise" on a lecture previously delivered by him upon some topic of positive or controversial divinity, which the Senior and Junior Classes, as well as Resident Graduates, were required to attend, found the catechizing and remarks so wearisome to the undergraduates, that, with consent of the government of the College, he substituted for it portions of Doddridge's Lectures on Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity, to be studied; in which the pupils were accordingly examined at stated times. This was the text-book in my class; and whatever we learned from it and from the Professor's instructions and remarks, the debt therefor was due from us to the good Professor, for the affectionate manner in which he imparted his instructions and taught us by his remarks, and not by the severity of his exactions. There was an unction in his professional services of every kind, that drew a sympathetic response

from all who regarded religion as a matter of faith, of sentiment, of feeling, or of duty. As little as some might have regarded the letter of our text-book, they could not fail to listen to its expounder, and receive the lessons of moral and religious truth that he drew from it and applied.

CHAPTER XVI.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Public Lectures of the Academical Professors, David Tappan, Eliphalet Pearson, Samuel Webber.—Remarks on the Lectures and Lecturers.—Medical Lectures.—Instructor and Instruction in the French Language.

BESIDES the instruction given by the three Academic resident Professors that I have mentioned, they were expected severally to give a public lecture, on one of the first three secular days of the week, on subjects pertinent to the design of their respective departments.

Dr. Tappan, the Professor of Divinity, whose time, compared with that of the other Professors, was little occupied in the instruction of single classes, delivered his weekly lectures with few omissions. He had a just estimation of his auditory, especially of the larger and younger part, and therefore never gave us cause to complain of the length of his discourses on the mere commonplaces of technical theology. In doctrine he was, I suppose, what was denominated in his time a moderate Calvinist; that is, he retained perhaps something of the terminology of Calvin, so to speak, without the metaphysical concatenation of the *five points* elaborately

argued at the Synod of Dort, and disengumbered of their fatalism, their inconsistencies and self-contradictions, and of their implications of God's partiality.

An author who approaches, perhaps, as near to Calvinism as almost any man of learning in New England in the present age, said of Dr. Tappan, a few years after his decease : "It has been thought" (by whom and by how many?) "that his usefulness to the cause of divine truth might have been increased, if he had dwelt upon the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel, which he believed, with more frequeney and with greater perspicuity and fulness ; and if in some instances he had been less careful to accommodate himself to opinions which he disapproved, and to prejudices which he thought pernicious. His remarkable humility, meekness, and modesty, the keen sensibility of his nature, and his caution not to offend, lest the mind should be shut to the truth, might at times have given a direction to the benevolent spirit which animated him, that would not have been taken by a man of greater hardihood of temper."

These remarks seem to me to contain as many unsound and erroneous propositions, as great perversion in the use and meaning of words, and consequently conclusions as unauthorized, as can be found anywhere in so small a compass, by a wide search for examples. There is a false step at the threshold. By what the writer calls the doctrines of the Gospel, he meant, I suppose, the doctrines of Calvin ; because it required "a man of greater hardihood of temper" than Tappan, to teach and preach them, and because to the same end it demanded also the sacrifice of the most amiable

Christian virtues. They were therefore the doctrines of Calvin constructed out of a few passages of Paul's Epistles, in which a fellow-Apostle said there were things hard to be understood. In analyzing the passage there is work for the verbal critic, in pointing out the perversion of meaning in the use of certain words ; for the logician, in detecting adverse propositions in the contraries and sub-contraries, and the consequent *non sequitur* of the inference ; and, above all, for the casuist, to pronounce judgment upon the conflict between morality and religion. The casuist would take all these things into account, and first of all ask himself what are the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel ; the teachings, that is, of Jesus Christ, as they are described by the Evangelists. And here he would find that Christ taught, besides the two great and comprehensive commandments, Love to God and Love to man, all the virtues that constitute the good man ; not excepting, but, on the contrary, laying great stress upon, humility and courage, and upon sincerity as opposed to hypocrisy. He taught the virtues imperatively and affectionately, illustrated them beautifully in parables, and exemplified them perfectly in his life. No vice did he treat with more severity of condemnation than that of hypocrisy. In all his public teaching he addressed his hearers as men capable of receiving or rejecting his doctrines, of practising or violating the duties they enjoined, and as capable of repentance, reformation, conversion ; not as if the final condition of each and all were everlastingly, unconditionally decreed by the Almighty from the foundation of the world,—the condition either of future misery or bliss. The sanctions connected with

Christ's preceptive teachings are the future reward of the righteous and punishment of the wicked.

Here the casuist would pause, saying, these are the pervading doctrines or teachings of the Gospel; but what are the distinguishing doctrines intended by the accuser, which the accused failed to preach with sufficient frequency, perspicuity, and fulness? Now the casuist is at a plunge. We must call for the parties, and find whether they agree, literally, in the statement of these doctrines, and then proceed to the evidence. There is a little ambiguity in the charge, giving an opportunity to ask the accuser whether he meant to say that the accused believed the whole, or only a part, of the distinguishing doctrines. But there is a graver charge than that contained in the first count; namely, that of accommodating himself to opinions which he disapproved, and to prejudices which he thought pernicious. This would seem to imply something worse than a blamable weakness,—yes, even dishonesty; add this to the want of fidelity in preaching, lecturing, or conversing on "the distinguishing doctrines which he believed," and the charges, if proved, are sufficient to disqualify him for a teacher of sacred truths. Last and worst of all, (and a most unfortunate conclusion for the writer also it is,) in his attempt to palliate the crimes alleged, he commits a very serious offence himself, by corrupting the use of words significant of the highest Christian virtues, and giving them a causal meaning and effect low and degrading. Is timidity or cowardice a synonyme of humility, meekness, or modesty? Is it not, on the contrary, a selfish quality, which narrows benevolence, or leads it astray? We "have not so learned Christ." There

is no antagonism between humility, Christian humility, and firmness. It quails not before man, and cannot become treacherous in presence of the all-seeing, all-knowing God.

It was very evident to all who were frequently favored with the privilege of hearing Dr. Tappan preach, that he did not regard the Gospel as glad tidings for any particular, self-interpreting sect, and that, in whatever sense he held the doctrines embodied in the language of any sect, he did not surrender his own reason, or countenance such a use of them as to confine the Church within its narrowest limits. So far as he believed what Calvinists call the "distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel," he did not regard the dogmas worth anything, without the Christian character, or believe them in such a sense as to become obstacles to the union and fellowship of all true believers in the teachings of Jesus Christ. He did not claim for himself, or for any one else, or for any body of men, a supremacy which Paul did not claim for himself, but rejected ; referring everything to the infallible Teacher. Thus, in the divisions of the Corinthian church, in which three parties had sprung up in the absence of Paul, the Apostle took no side in their disputes, only condemning their strife, and the setting up of hierarchs, and producing schisms in the kingdom of their Lord and Master. The rebuke uttered by Paul in the interrogatory form is striking, and contains a lesson which should have ruled in the Church for all time thereafter. "Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"

Conformably to the import of these significant ques-

tions, making everything centre in unity under Jesus Christ, the head of the Church and the pattern for all his followers, Dr. Tappan's preaching, life, and conversation were evangelical, and not sectarian or controversial. Unity of the Church in heart, in feeling, as constituting one brotherhood, it was his aim to effect, and a theme of his earnest exhortations. He thought of Paul again, who, when he wrote to the church at Philippi, commended those who preached from goodwill and love, in contradistinction from strife and contention ; declaring that his joy would be full, if the power of this love and fellowship of the spirit, spiritual fellowship or union, and mutual affection and agreement, should be established among the brethren. I cannot forbear, in this connection, to copy a few sentences from a published sermon of Dr. Tappan, which was preached at the ordination of the late Dr. Channing, entitled, "A Sermon on the Christian Ministry."

"As the Gospel intended to reunite all men in holy fellowship, its ministers should adjust their preaching and conduct to its design. They should point the attention of their hearers to those great truths and duties which form the centre of Christian union. A zealous, joint attachment to these should temper or extinguish that fire of controversy which divided sentiments and jealous feelings about small or doubtful matters have so often inflamed. It ill becomes ministers of Christ to rend asunder his mystical body by substituting the narrow zeal of a party in the room of that comprehensive spirit which unites man to God and one another. It ill becomes them to contend even for essential truth in a manner unfavorable to Christian love and its practical fruits ;

for such contention injures both the moral credit and moral influence of the truth; it disfigures and endangers the Gospel Church even by those very doctrines, which, rightly entertained, constitute her principal strength and beauty. It is by speaking the truth in love, and by carrying it out in a holy temper and practice, that Christians are to grow up into a compact, flourishing, and glorious community."

Thus that eminent servant in Christ's kingdom, becoming his own interpreter, left a memorial which proved him to have been a member of the true catholic Church, which embraces all who profess and call themselves Christians and lead a holy life. He was a guileless man; sincerity and benevolence beamed from his countenance; and, combined as they were with cheerfulness, simplicity, frankness, and vivacity of address, both old and young delighted in his companionship. It was my privilege to know him for the last nine of the eleven years which filled the measure of his professional labors in the University, and the measure of his days on earth,—first as an undergraduate, afterwards as a student in divinity, and last, as a member of the Faculty; to hear his public lectures, and not unfrequently his ministrations on the Lord's day in the First Congregational Church in Cambridge, where most of the officers of College and students attended public worship; to visit him in his study and family, and to witness and enjoy his social visits at the President's; and in all with unvarying affection, respect, and reverence for the man as an elder, an instructive companion and friend, and a friend and benefactor of his race.

Eliphalet Pearson was inducted into the office of

Hancock Professor in 1786. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1773, the first year that the graduates were arranged in alphabetical order in the Catalogue, instead of the previous troublesome and invidious arrangement according to the adjudged rank and dignity of their parentage. It was at the close of the presidency of Holyoke (then made vacant by his death), and a few months before the accession of Locke to the presidency, that Mr. Pearson entered College, and a few months before the resignation of Locke, (for which, Mr. Quincy says, the Corporation "expressed no regret,") that Mr. Pearson received his degree. At the time of his election he was Principal of Phillips Academy in Andover, which office he had held many years, and established a good name as a classical scholar and teacher, which he brought with him to the University. This was well for him and for the credit of the institution; but, on the other hand, there was a disadvantage in his having been so long supreme in the government of boys, and a pretty rigid, perhaps not too rigid, government, which had become a habit; and though he came among pupils no small portion of whom were boys, they considered themselves high in the ascendant above school-boys, and often thought or imagined that they were not treated by him even with the scant courtesy that was due. Unfortunately, this notion had become traditional when my class entered College, and rendered us liable to mistake appearances for realities, and to lose the benefit of instructions which ought to have been listened to with respect.

I have spoken of the private instructions given by Professor Pearson in the English department. His

public lectures were by supposition to be given once a week ; and the Freshman whose office it was to ring the bell called upon the Professor, before the hour for its delivery, to learn whether it would be given. The negative was more frequent than the affirmative answer. It would seem to have been the design, in establishing the public lectures of the Academical Professors, and requiring all the classes to attend, that each should give a course or courses of lectures once a week, extending through four years. There were when I was an undergraduate four quarters or terms, and thirteen weeks of vacation ; namely, four weeks after Commencement in July, two in the Autumn, five in the Winter, and two in the Spring ; leaving thirty-nine weeks of term-time. Allowing an omission of five lectures in a year for necessary or accidental causes, and thirty-four might be given in a year, making one hundred and thirty-six for four years. I do not think that two fifths of that number, in the four years that I attended them, were delivered by Dr. Pearson.

The lectures of the Professor on Philosophical Grammar were critical and logical, too minutely so to secure the attention they deserved, and consequently were not appreciated according to their real value, particularly by the younger part of his auditory. Had they been delivered in daily succession, or at short intervals, to a single class, and followed by examination of the pupils on each lecture in its turn, no doubt much instruction might have been gathered from them. But delivered as they were, infrequently, often with intervals of two or three weeks, they came to be regarded as a matter of form ; so that, without previous preparation on the

part of the students, or any test of the knowledge they derived from them, they added little to the amount of their scientific acquirements. Taking of notes I do not remember ever to have seen practised ; indeed, there were no conveniences to invite, or even permit, it to any considerable extent. The lectures, I should judge, were written, most of them, if not all, during the eight years the Professor had been in office before my entrance into College. For authorities, or for points of controversy, he quoted few authors on the Philosophy of Language. Monboddo on the Origin and Progress of Language, he sometimes quoted ; of John Horne Tooke I do not remember that he made any use, or of any of the French authors, Geblin, De Brosse, and others ; and of the German writers little was known. Harris's *Hermes* appeared to me to be his *vade-mecum*, — from which he quoted largely, and on which he commented often ; appearing to concur with Lowth in its praise, as “the most beautiful and perfect example of analysis that has been exhibited since the days of Aristotle.” Tooke treats Lowth with respect as an authority, but still flouts Harris, through the title of his work : “Hermes, you know, put out the eyes of Argus, and I suspect that he has likewise blinded philosophy ; and if I had not imagined so, I should never cast away a thought upon the subject.” I shall never forget how, after quoting Harris at any considerable length, the Professor, with a peculiar tone of his voice, uniformly concluded with the formula, “Thus far Harris.”

What should seem to be the primary appropriate duties of his office as Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages made small demands upon his time,

but large demands on his patience ; for, as I have said before, few in a class studied Hebrew, and fewer still made any substantial progress in the study ; so that the English department, which was added to the professorship when he entered upon its duties, constituted the chief value of the office ; and this was eminently great. The inspection and corrections of the written compositions of beginners, especially, and critical remarks upon them, form a very important branch of instruction ; it is still needed as they advance, and is always beneficial even to practised writers ; for it is by the critic's freedom on our writings, whether sought for or volunteered, whether proceeding from friend or foe, that we become more watchful critics of our own productions. Even if it be hypercriticism with which we are assailed, it has its use ; it stimulates thought and quickens discernment.

The labors of Dr. Pearson in this department were great, minute, and searching ; unseen also by any save those who received the immediate benefit of them. More than once after I became a member of the Immediate Government did I hear him plead, as an excuse for declining to perform any extra service that required speedy attention, "I have two classes of themes to examine." The fact was sufficient ; the excuse was valid.

During the twenty years of his professorship I do not find that any literary production of Dr. Pearson was printed, except his "Public Lecture occasioned by the Death of Rev. Joseph Willard, President of the University in Cambridge, 1804." This was published at the request of the students. His abstinence from publicity in this respect is to be regretted. It was not well that

a mind stored with treasures of knowledge should become a sealed casket, in which they were for ever hidden from the sunlight, and from the vision of the human eye.

His agency in establishing the Theological Seminary in Andover is well known. Trouble sprung up in respect to the details of the creed ; but in regard to those doctrines on which the parties could not agree, they came to a convenient compromise by assuming the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, in substance, as the standard. The parties were the adherents to the old Puritan Calvinism on the one side, and the believers of modern Hopkinsianism on the other. Dr. Pearson, who belonged to the former class, was the first Professor of Sacred Literature. Four of his sermons delivered in the early years of the Seminary were published; namely, "at the funeral of Madam Phebe Phillips," 1812 ; "before the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," 1811 ; "at the Ordination of Rev. Ephraim Abbott," 1813 ; and "before the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry," 1815. In the title-pages of the sermons, the name of the office he held in the Seminary is not appended to his own name, but only the honorary academical distinction of the degree of LL. D., conferred upon him at Yale and New Jersey Colleges in the year 1802, which addition would seem less appropriate than the other in the title-page of a sermon. The Ordination Sermon, and that delivered before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I have read. They are written in a perspicuous, accurate, and unadorned style, and contain many excellent thoughts well and strongly expressed. Controversial

preaching, denunciatory preaching, angry and terrific preaching, manifested by words, tones, or gesture, and preaching upon subjects of an abstract and metaphysical nature, and upon mysteries, in order to explain what is inexplicable, he pointedly condemns. In public discourses from the pulpit, he said in his Ordination Sermon, "among the weighty subjects which demand frequent, elaborate, and solemn discussion, are the depravity of man, his helpless state by nature, the perfection and immutability of the divine law, the necessity of an atonement, the Divinity of Christ, repentance toward God, justification by faith alone, regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the necessity of holiness to happiness, the perseverance of saints, the resurrection of the body, and the future state of eternal rewards and punishments." I have not selected this passage of the discourse to show that he took this as an exclusive view of the subjects within the scope of the public ministrations of a preacher of the Gospel, for this is not the fact; on the contrary, his views were very comprehensive, beginning with the being, perfections, and providence of God, and the truth and excellence of Christianity; and extending to all moral and Christian virtues; to the order of Providence in the seasons, and to remarkable occurrences, public and personal. But I have inserted it because I think that his treatment of some of these prominent and disputed doctrines is rather didactic than descriptive; that it does not distinctly show in what sense they constitute an essential part of Christian faith. For example, in his Sermon before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, suggested by the words of Paul addressed to the Corinthians, namely, "I deter-

mined not to know [or make known] anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified," he cites at length the texts in which Paul speaks of Christ as *the Son of God*, as being a demonstrative proof of his divinity, that he is a *divine person*, but does not use the word Trinity or personal union; and, finally, affirms that "the phrase Son of God is appropriate and exclusive, and, according to the established usage of speech, must intend real and absolute Deity"; and further, "that Paul and the other Apostles, by declaring that Jesus is the Son of God, meant to have it understood that he is of the same nature or essence with the Father." This I suppose may be called didactic or dogmatic, rather than descriptive or explanatory preaching.

The same objection lies against his treatment of the "Atonement, or pardon of sin through the death of Christ," (as he explains it, if explanation it may be called,) a doctrine which "may be termed the great doctrine of the Bible." Accordingly he traces it from the patriarchal age through the Jewish dispensation, making the ancient sacrifices illustrative and typical, in their design, of the sacrifice of Christ. Of the word Atonement he gives no definition or explanation; and for its efficacy, whatever it may be, he seems to have regarded it as a vicarious sacrifice, without connecting it with any of the teachings of Christ; and added, "Without shedding of blood there is no remission." This quotation of Dr. Pearson from Hebrews was said of the Jewish Law.

The Christian temper and spirit manifested in his sermons is not only unexceptionable, but an example for all sects. Of his style of writing I have already spoken with commendation for its clearness and accuracy;

but had he been more accustomed to writing for the public in the vigor of his life, it would doubtless have been more free, fluent, graceful, and attractive. He was a business man in all his affairs ; and by his energy and perseverance and his power of talking (I mean to use the word respectfully) he accomplished much, and gained a wide reputation.*

The public lectures of Professor Webber were still more infrequent than those of Professor Pearson. They were also upon subjects that, in the scientific manner in which they were treated, few, especially of the lower classes, could understand, or tried to understand. Doubtless he thought that the lectures were given in compliance with a mere academic form, and that, compared with the other exercises in his department, which he performed punctually, faithfully, and intelligibly, it

* There is a fact in the life of Professor Pearson, and also of Professor Hedge, that may be supposed to have added some strength to the ties of their regard to the University ; namely, their affinity to the venerable President Holyoke. Dr. Pearson married a daughter of the President, and Dr. Hedge married a granddaughter, whose mother was the wife of Dr. William Kneeland of Cambridge, who had been a Tutor for nine years (1754 - 1763), and at an after period was President of the Massachusetts Medical Society. President Holyoke purchased a house in Cambridge towards the close of his life, presuming that his wife would survive him and occupy it. Such was the result. It was occupied a few years by Professor Pearson after he came into office. Soon after Dr. Tappan entered upon the duties of his office, if not before, Dr. Pearson removed from this house, and Dr. Tappan became the tenant. I purchased the same house in 1811 and occupied it twenty-one or two years. It is now called the Holyoke House, and is, I believe, the oldest house in Cambridge ; supposed to have been built about one hundred and seventy years ago.

might as well pass, as it seemed to be intended, for an occasional more public ceremonial dignity of office.

Upon these occasions the Professors appeared in the academic costume derived from the English Universities, with square caps, bands, black gowns, and cassocks; all which, except it might be in the case of the Professor of Divinity, did not appear to add any peculiar sanctity to their discourse or to their personal dignity. The youth, with that exception, would comment in whispers, and smile, if they did nothing worse, as freely as if the lecturers had been dressed in frock-coats and pantaloons; which in those times, however, would have been looked upon as such a gross indecency, upon any occasion, that upon this it would not have passed among youth of buoyant spirits without more audible demonstrations of levity than were smiles and whispers.

Of the Medical Professors and their lectures, during the period I have passed through in my remarks, I have spoken cursorily in another place. The lectures were given at the University to medical students. Members of the Senior Class were allowed to attend them on certain conditions; but there were no separate courses for the undergraduates until the removal of the Medical School to Boston; at which time provision was made for courses such as were thought to be suited to scholars pursuing the academical branches of study. And it was not until the year 1824 that Chemistry became a prescribed branch of study for undergraduates.

Of the modern foreign languages, instruction was provided for the French only. Nancrede, who had been the instructor for some time before the entrance

of my class, continued in office through our four years as undergraduates, and after. But he was a man of such an irritable and suspicious temper, that many, as is natural in such cases, took more pleasure in tormenting him than in profiting by his instructions. His literary acquirements, I believe, were considerable, as were also his competency and success in teaching private pupils. Who was his immediate successor at College, I do not remember. Faucon was appointed in 1806, who, as I recollect to have heard President Webber say, was impatient at the delay of an answer to his application for the office. In one of his calls he wished to know whether he, the President, "had sent his demand *at* the Corporation"; — after the recital of which, the President burst forth into one of those hearty laughs in which he was wont to indulge when anything ludicrous occurred.

In regard to the previous history of instruction in French, all that I find is in President Quincy's History of the University; namely, that in 1735 Longloisserie was permitted, by the Immediate Government, to teach it, and that the Overseers denied its authority, induced so to do, probably, by personal objections to the man; that in 1780 Simon Poulin was authorized by the Corporation, with the concurrence of the Overseers, to teach the French language; and that in 1782 Albert Gallatin had the same permission and the same privileges as Poulin; namely, that the tuition fees should be charged in the College quarter-bills, and that he should be allowed the privilege of a Tutor as to the Library and Commons, and a chamber in the College.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Public Examinations.—Their Design.—Opposed by the Students.—Proceedings of the Overseers.—Public Exhibitions.—Societies of Undergraduates.—Phi Beta Kappa.—Its Exercises.—Public Exercises at Anniversary of the whole Society.—Pig Club, or Porcellian Society.—Hasty-Pudding Club.—Adelphoi.—Coffee Clubs.—Speaking Club.—Exercise and Amusements.—Games.—Play-ground.—Dress.

PUBLIC examinations were of recent origin when I entered College. They were established by law in 1790, and went into operation in the year following. The purpose was good, but the struggle to accomplish it was attended only with partial success. In part, the object was “to excite the students to a noble emulation.” To this end each class was to be examined, annually, by a joint committee of the Corporation and Overseers, and by the President, Professors, and Tutors, in the studies of the preceding year; who were “to determine by ballot those who had distinguished themselves, and report their names to both Boards (the Corporation and Overseers), to be placed on record as a testimonial of their literary merit.”* These lures to emulation

* President Quincy's History of Harvard University; quoted from the records.

could operate on few, if any ; the most meritorious students were already known to the Faculty, and in the chances of examination of such numbers, and with so little time and opportunity to show their acquirements, the most deserving would be as likely to lose as to gain in estimation, on the scale of merit. One day only was devoted to the examination of a class. Consequently, embracing, as it did, the studies of a whole year in all the departments, it must have been very superficial, giving, for example, in a class of fifty, an average of less than two minutes to each student, in any one branch, to display his knowledge, to recover from any accidental embarrassment, or even to make manifest his deficiency.

Except for the confinement of the whole class four hours in each part of the day, (with an interval of about an hour,) these examinations were not much dreaded. They who answered the questions propounded, and translated the passages assigned to them in Latin and Greek, correctly and promptly, were soon relieved from anxiety ; and they who faltered, and failed to recover their doubtful or buried memories, were not waited for nor harassed by a searching inquisition. In fact, the examinations of the several classes afforded the means only or chiefly of judging to some extent of the modes of teaching, and perhaps to a less extent of the general acquirements of the pupils. Here and there, however, one of more than common self-possession, sustained by a more thorough knowledge of the matter before him than the mass of his associates, and urged on by a more intense spirit, was allowed greater latitude than his fellows, or took it, when the vigilance of the

Tutor had begun to wane; and the individual, unchecked, used his opportunity to the best advantage.*

Examination in the various branches of study, as a matter of expediency, at the close of the Senior year, in order to ascertain the fitness of each member to receive his diploma, has frequently been discussed in times past by members of the Faculty informally; but the discussions have always resulted in the opinion, that this measure would create much dissatisfaction, and that the immemorial usage of encouraging the diligent, however slow to learn, and of warning and admonishing the idle and negligent, so long as there was a reasonable hope of reclaiming them, and, in failure of these efforts, suspending their relation to College and placing them under the instruction of private tutors, as the last resort, or, in extreme cases, of dismissing them altogether from the University, constituted the only gradations of

* "These ballots, reports, and records," says President Quincy, "were not pleasing to the students, and in 1791 the Senior and Junior Classes petitioned for exemption from the examination." The Overseers rejected the application, and disturbances occurred. "Some alterations were made, but the spirit of discontent was not allayed." In 1793, the offensive regulations were suspended. But serious disorders and criminal offences continued to such a degree, that the Overseers voted that the Immediate Government be empowered to examine students, in certain cases, under oath. The last vote of the Overseers relating to the examinations was passed in the year 1796; namely, that the examinations are useful, and they recommend that the Professors and Tutors at the close of every examination decide on the fitness or the contrary of each member to advance to the next class, and, finally, as a test of his qualification for receiving his degree; saving in each case the right of a "new examination." The Corporation were silent; and the whole matter subsided.

discipline for securing attention to study that would meet public approbation, or that were demanded for securing a general attention to study, and consequently for preserving the reputation of the University in regard to its literary eminence. All else must be left to the pupil,—to his natural ability, to his love of study (with some allowance for his favorite pursuits), and to his ambition to excel, aided by the aptitude of his teachers to assist him in shaping his course in order to reach the object at which he should aim. Such, if I mistake not, are the general views entertained by those who are experienced in the discipline of students in our New England Colleges, and such have been the methods practised by the Faculties, and relied upon in order to encourage the willing, to make the reluctant tractable and the thoughtless considerate.

For a long period fines constituted the punishment of undergraduates for negligence in attendance at the exercises and in the performance of the lessons assigned to them. A fine was the lowest degree in the gradation of punishment. This mode of punishment or disapprobation was liable to objections, as a tax on the father rather than a rebuke of the son, (except it might be, in some cases, for the indirect moral influence produced upon the latter, operating on his filial feeling,) and as a mercenary exaction, since the money went into the treasury of the College. It was a good day for the College when this punishment through the purse was abandoned as a part of the system of punishments; which, not confined to neglect of study, had been extended also to a variety of misdemeanors more or less aggravated and aggravating.

The College year, when I was an undergraduate, was divided into four terms or quarters. In each quarter, except that which began in October and ended about the first of January, there was an exhibition similar to the exhibitions which have been held ever since. Two of these, the one in May and the other in October, were held at the semiannual meetings of the Overseers in those months, and followed each by a vacation of a fortnight's continuance. These were commonly called public exhibitions. The third, held in July, some weeks before Commencement, was called private among the students. It is not to be presumed that the literary excellence now displayed on these occasions was equalled by the performers on like occasions more than half a century ago; but there was the same public interest in the performers, the same indulgent and generous judgments concerning them on the part of parents and friends and the elders among the learned, and the same profusion and conflict of criticism among their fellow-students. The selections from the classes, for the exhibitions and Commencement exercises, were not, I think, so satisfactory at the former period as they now are. The opinions which the Professors and Tutors formed individually concerning the respective merits of the pupils were derived from the impressions left upon their minds and memories by their general appearance in the lecture-rooms, and not from a scale of their performances, kept from day to day, by which the candidates for distinction can be closely compared with each other. Exceptions were then, I believe, more frequently made to the judgment of the Faculty concerning their respective merits, than they have been since the present mechanical method of

measuring and securing to them their relative rank, determined by constancy of attendance on the exercises, and faithful performance of them, was adopted. For the same reason, it was then more difficult than now to allay discontent. There was no record to which an appeal could be made.

Several societies and clubs existed while I was an undergraduate, under various names, for social, literary, or religious fellowship, or for a combination of these purposes. Some of them, at that time, were of recent, and some of more remote origin. Prominent among them was the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which was introduced into Harvard College by a charter procured by Elisha Parmele, a graduate of the College in 1778, from the original society of this name in William and Mary College in Virginia, and executed by its officers. Six associated members of the class who were graduated at Harvard in 1781 are regarded as the founders of the society.* The first anniversary meeting was held in 1782, when an oration was delivered before it by Elijah Paine, then a resident graduate at the College.† It was a se-

* This small band, namely, John Davis, Joseph Hall, Bezaleel Howard, Elijah Paine, Nathan Read, and Dudley Atkins Tyng, is a remarkable instance of longevity. Mr. Tyng died in 1829, perhaps not quite seventy years of age; Mr. Howard in 1837, perhaps one or two years short of eighty. The other four all lived to between eighty and ninety years of age.

† Mr. Paine was appointed District Judge for the District of Vermont during the last two years of the administration of John Adams, being then a Senator in Congress. He was a large landholder in Vermont, and a man of great influence in that young State. A brother of his, Amasa Paine, of the same State, was among the most distinguished in the legal profession. I was

cret society ; but the secrets were altogether innocent, and of no value to anybody except the members. They consisted of nothing but certain signs of recognition, and the mode of procuring entrance to the room in which the members were met, and in the explanation of the words denoted by the Greek initials on the medal. Further than this, however, the members initiated were required to promise secrecy in regard to the transactions of the meetings. This was a wise provision, particularly in respect to the discussion for admission of members, which sometimes caused much excitement. As it thus became known among the members who was in favor and who opposed to the admission of any individual, the disclosure might have led to mischievous consequences, to alienations and hostile feelings. Guarded even as this matter was, there were abundant heartburnings and disappointed hopes, and invidious comparisons between the *ins* and the *outs*, which at different times have led many to doubt whether the continued existence of the society or its dissolution would be the greater good. In the latter part of my Junior year, with rather faint hopes of being chosen into the society, I received the announcement of my admission. Though during that year I had been more diligent in my College exercises, and knew better how to appreciate its

told by Mr. James Sheafe, of Portsmouth, a representative from New Hampshire in the Sixth Congress, on his return, after its close, that Mr. Elijah Paine was nominated for the office under a mistake of the President, confounding him with his brother. A fortunate mistake for him who got the prize ; for, according to the amount of business, it was one of the richest offices under the United States government.

prescribed studies and improve my opportunities, and had acquired more manliness of character, I was conscious of what I had lost, or rather failed to gain, in the two years preceding; partly from immaturity of mental power, and partly for want of that thorough preparation which was necessary for so young a boy to reach a high standing in his class. The regular meetings of the society during the year in which those chosen from my class were the immediate members, were held according to established custom, solely for literary improvement. A written essay by one member, and a written discussion on some disputed subject by two other members, followed by extemporaneous remarks of the remaining members, constituted the weekly exercises of the evening. This arrangement was handed down by our predecessors, and transmitted and followed out by those who came after us for some years. This provision for literary improvement was the central object of the society, and the names commonly used to distinguish between the present and the past members were immediate members and honorary members.

From the year 1782, the year of the first anniversary meeting, till the formation of the Association of the Alumni, with one exception only, 1799, a public oration has been delivered before the Society at its annual meeting. And for the first time in the year that members were chosen from my class (1797), a poem was added to the literary entertainment, and delivered by Robert Treat Paine, Jr., which was afterwards published, and entitled "The Ruling Passion." The appointment was probably occasioned by the unexampled applause with which his poem, "The Age of Reason," was received; a poem

that he delivered on Commencement day, 1795, being one of the exercises of his class on the occasion of their receiving the degree of Master of Arts. At that time, but never afterwards, the exercises of the candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts were held in the morning ; and after dinner, in the College hall, the exercises of the day were resumed, by those who were appointed to perform them, from among the candidates for the second degree. These exercises were an English Oration, a Valedictory Oration in Latin, and sometimes a Poem. Mr. Paine had acquired much celebrity for poetic genius according to the taste of the times, and an unusual number gathered on the occasion, especially of young men ; and such was the crowd of people forcing themselves into the house as soon as it was opened, that great confusion and tumult took place before the exercises began. Such was Mr. Paine's success in his performance, that his reputation was established as the poet for great occasions.

The Phi Beta Kappa Society, not having acquired so great notoriety when Mr. Paine delivered his Poem at their annual meeting as it has since gained, assembled, according to custom, for the exercises of the occasion, in the College Chapel ; and in addition to the members of the society, and those who were connected with the College, and other literary men, the auditory could not have been very large. I believe that our mothers and sisters had not then acquired or claimed the privilege of listening to these exercises. There were then about two hundred and thirty members of the society living. There might have been present nearly a hundred members ; and two hundred and fifty

more persons present would have crowded all the seats and the aisles. Mr. Paine's poem was admirably composed for declamation, and was spoken with uncommon energy. Many passages, perhaps, produced great effect, and gained great applause in the delivery, for their epigrammatic point; and if the wit and humor and satire were sometimes forced, or far-fetched, or overwrought, and bordered upon conceit, they were so boldly enunciated, and were so striking in the tone of expression, that he secured the attention and sympathy of the audience to the end, and cast off his robe in triumph. I well remember that I, ever and anon, cast a glance at the critic under whose strictures many a sensitive youth had withered with fearful apprehension, or gained hope and confidence by approval, when standing before him in his professional chair, to listen to his comments on their writings in prose or verse,* and I saw not the critic's frown; criticism was drowned in a torrent of delight, to be resuscitated, perhaps, when the poet should speak from the press.

Until the year 1805, the public anniversary exercises were held in the College Chapel. In that year they were performed in the Episcopal Church, and ever since they have been held in the church of the First Congregational Parish. Both changes became necessary in consequence of the increased attendance; and since the last change the house has uniformly been filled to overflowing. The anniversary meeting in the year 1852 was held merely for business, and the public exercises were superseded by those of the Alumni of

* Professor Pearson.

the College, of whom there was a great gathering, and abundant provision made to satisfy the cravings of both body and mind. On six of the first eight anniversary meetings, the orations were delivered by members of the several classes who commenced Bachelors of Arts on the preceding day. Until the year 1830, the orators were chosen exclusively from the graduates of Harvard College. In that year, and in several instances since, they have been chosen from among gentlemen educated in other Colleges. Since the formation of the Association of the Alumni, the two societies hold their meetings in alternate years.

Another society that had acquired some notoriety while I was an undergraduate was the Pig Club, as it was then called. But either from the fact that this was not the true name, or from some fastidious misgiving about the title, though there had been, or have been since, learned pigs exhibited, or whatever might have been the cause, the name was changed for one of a derivative formation, from a word in another language; Thus, *Porcus*; *Porcellus*, dim.; *Porcellian*, adj., Anglese. This society was founded by members of the Senior Class in 1793 or 1794. Some of these were among the most prominent scholars, and were distinguished men in after life. It had fallen into disrepute when it descended to the class to which I belonged, and few of our leading scholars joined it.

There was another society, founded, I believe, by the class immediately preceding mine, whose name is significant of its original purpose. The before-mentioned society derived its name from a race of quadrupeds, and that which I now mention, from a farinaceous substance

mixed with water,—a substance which the race of quadrupeds, when best fed, feed upon,—namely, hasty-pudding. That there was no mockery or vain conceit in the name thus adopted by the original associates, and transmitted to their successors, I can certify; for I have often seen that wholesome article carried through the College yard in a kettle (the rising vapor betraying its contents), suspended to a pole, and two or more members officiating as bearers. Whether their by-laws restricted the diet of the society to this food I cannot say; but probably, like most associations of the kind which begin by adopting stringent sumptuary regulations, they relaxed so far as to suit the caprices of appetite.

There was also a society for religious improvement, entitled *Adelphoi*, with some additional term denoting its religious purpose, a term which I do not remember. It had existed for many years; confined, I think, to the Senior Class. Of this society I became a member. The meetings were held on Saturday evenings, in a room in a retired part of the village, and the members in turn performed the devotional services, and delivered a homily or short discourse, which was commented upon, oftentimes with much interest. The meetings were always conducted with seriousness and devotion, and produced a good influence on those who engaged in them, and thus perhaps indirectly upon others also.

There was another society, not generally known among the students, the principal object of which was mutual improvement in elocution and oratory. It was confined to the two middle classes, from which, in succession, there were generally chosen from twelve to

fifteen members. Not having been a member of this society, I am not acquainted with its history. It was after my time called the Institute of 1770. This being probably the true date of its origin, it was the oldest of the societies existing among the undergraduates.

Besides the societies which were transmitted from one class to another, successively, there were in some, if not in all, the classes, Coffee Clubs, so called, which met in the evening, partly for social intercourse and partly for enjoying refreshments at their postprandian meal, as Jeremy Bentham would say, more grateful to the taste than they could get at commons. The students who boarded in commons were obliged to go to the kitchen door with their bowls or pitchers for their suppers, where they received their modicum of milk or chocolate in their vessel, held in one hand, and their piece of bread in the other, and repaired to their rooms to take their solitary repast. There were suspicions at times that the milk was diluted by a mixture of a very common tasteless fluid, which led a sagacious Yankee student to put the matter to the test, by asking the simple carrier-boy why his mother did not mix the milk with warm water instead of cold. "She does," replied the honest youth. This mode of obtaining evening commons did not prove in all cases the most economical on the part of the fed. It sometimes happened, that, from inadvertence or previous preparation for a visit elsewhere, some individuals had arrayed themselves in their dress-coats and breeches, and in their haste to be served, and by jostling in the crowd, got sadly sprinkled with milk or chocolate, either by accident or by the stealthy indulgence of the mischievous propensities of

those with whom they came in contact ; and oftentimes it was a scene of confusion that was not the most pleasant to look upon or be engaged in. At breakfast the students were furnished, in Commons Hall, with tea, coffee, or milk, and a small loaf of bread. The age of a beaker of beer with a certain allowance of bread had expired.

Few of the boys and young men among the undergraduates at any time suffered for want of exercise. They whose rooms were at a considerable distance from College were compelled, by the frequent calls to attend the recitations, lectures, and morning and evening prayers, to the exercise of walking, and sometimes, in order to avoid being marked for tardiness at morning prayers, to move with great speed, held as they were at six o'clock, through the whole year. At the first signal bell, the unwilling sluggard woke. This early rising injured none who did not toil to exhaustion in midnight study, or indulge themselves in midnight animal pleasures or excesses.

Riding for pleasure was among the rare things ; walking for recreation and companionship, together with some of the various pastimes that are still perpetuated, were then common. But some of the more athletic exercises of that period are now little practised. Wrestling, running, and leaping were among the severer and not uncommon gymnastic amusements and contests. The contests to excel sometimes, indeed, became too violent, and consequently injurious ; but otherwise they contributed to activity and muscular strength ; and, if I mistake not, the generation of young men who formed their habits of bodily exercise at that time

became a more hardy race than the generations that succeeded.

Wrestling was reduced to an art, which had its technical terms for the movement of the limbs, and the manner of using them adroitly, with the skill acquired by practice in applying muscular force at the right time and in the right degree. Success in the art, therefore, depended partly on skill; and a violation of the rules of the contest vitiated any apparent triumph gained by mere physical strength. There were traditional accounts of some of our predecessors who were commemorated as among the coryphæi of wrestlers; a renown that was not then looked upon with contempt. The art of wrestling was not then confined to the literary gymnasium. It was practised in every rustic village. There were even migrating braves and Hectors, who, in their wanderings from their places of abode to villages more or less distant, defied the chiefest of this order of gymnasts to enter the lists. In a country town of Massachusetts remote from the capital, one of these wanderers appeared about half a century since, and issued a general challenge against the foremost wrestlers. The clergyman of the town, a son of Harvard, whose fame in this particular had travelled from the academic to the rustic green, was apprised of the challenge, and complied with the solicitation of some of his young parishioners to accept it in their behalf. His triumph over the challenger was completed without agony or delay, and having prostrated him often enough to convince him of his folly, he threw him over the stone wall, and gravely admonished him against repeating his visit, and disturbing the peace of his parish.

The College play-ground contained, according to the best estimate I can make from my recollection of its boundaries, about an acre and a half. The Charlestown road, now Kirkland Street, formed the northerly boundary, beginning at the corner on the Common and running northeasterly between three and four hundred feet, and inclosing the play-ground by a low, close board fence. About sixty-five feet south of the same corner a fence of the same structure ran easterly, coming about fifty feet distant from the north end of Hollis, and extended about three hundred feet. The fence on this line separated the play-ground from the College buildings ; and the entrance to the ground was a few rods east of the front line of Hollis. The eastern boundary was a line running from the eastern extremity of the boundary last named to Kirkland Street. This inclosure, an irregular square, contained two thirds or more of the ground on which Stoughton stands, the greater part of the land on which Holworthy stands, together with about the same quantity of land in front of the same, the land back of Holworthy, including part of a road since laid out, and perhaps a very small portion of the western extremity of the Delta, so called.

This was our Gymnasium ; — *was*, for who can find it now, — partly built upon, mutilated, turned partly into a highway, trampled upon by multitudes alien to the joyous sports to which it was dedicated, by beasts with their burdens, and cattle driven to the shambles ? Here it was that we wrestled and ran, played at quoits, at cricket, and various games of bat and ball, whose names perhaps are obsolete, and leaped and jumped in rivalry.

The seasons and times for these games of dexterity and skill were in the latter part of spring, in summer, and in early autumn, after evening prayers; and continued till the waning twilight remanded us to our studies.

One of the Tutors, several years before my time, wrote in his diary an account of an excursion with some of his colleagues and other residents at College, and one of the amusements mentioned was *saltation*. I can not give up *leap* and *jump* in exchange for *saltation*. In the Teutonic terms the sound and sense harmonize. They express abrupt, quick, vigorous motion; whereas saltation moves slowly, smoothly, evenly, and with more dignity, and expresses more nearly in sound and sense a dance, a minuet namely (which Dr. Johnson defines as a stately, regular dance), than it does leaping or jumping.

Fewer temptations were presented to reading for mere amusement than in after times. Novels were few. Magazines and reviews also were few, and not very enlivening, and newspapers too were few and lean, and their contents soon perused. The standard English poets, essayists, dramatists, biographers, and historians were the most reputable companions and most attractive to the better class of scholars; and they found that time enough could be redeemed from their daily tasks to indulge their various tastes in their several departments of English literature.

In the long winter evenings, besides social meetings, accidental or appointed, sometimes attended with festivity, which for the most part, but not always, was temperate and innocent, cards also, though prohibited by

College laws, were sometimes introduced, and draughts and backgammon ; but playing for money staked upon their games was disreputable, and practised secretly by few.

Except on special occasions, which required more than ordinary attention to dress, the students, when I was an undergraduate, were generally very careless in this particular. They were obliged by the College laws to wear coats of blue-gray ; but as a substitute in warm weather, they were allowed to wear gowns, except on public occasions ; and on these occasions they were permitted to wear black gowns. Seldom, however, did any one avail himself of this permission. In summer long gowns of calico or gingham were the covering that distinguished the collegian, not only about the College grounds, but in all parts of the village. Still worse, when the season no longer tolerated this thin outer garment, many adopted one much in the same shape, made of colorless woollen stuff called lambskin. These were worn by many without any under-coat in temperate weather, and in some cases for a length of time in which they had become sadly soiled. In other respects there was nothing peculiar in the common dress of the young men and boys of College to distinguish it from that of others of the same age. Breeches were generally worn, buttoned at the knees, and tied or buckled a little below ; not so convenient a garment for a person dressing in haste as trousers or pantaloons. Often did I see a fellow-student hurrying to the Chapel to escape tardiness at morning prayers, with this garment unbuttoned at the knees, the ribbons dangling over his legs, the hose refusing to keep their elevation, and the calico

or woollen gown wrapped about him, ill concealing his dishabille.

Not all at once did pantaloons gain the supremacy as the nether garment. About the beginning of the present century they grew rapidly in favor with the young ; but men past middle age were more slow to adopt the change. Then, last, the aged very gradually were converted to the fashion by the plea of convenience and comfort ; so that about the close of the first quarter of the present century it became almost universal. In another particular, more than half a century ago, the sons adopted a custom of their wiser fathers. The young men had for several years worn shoes and boots shaped in the toe part to a point, called peaked toes, while the aged adhered to the shape similar to the present fashion ; so that the shoemaker, in a doubtful case, would ask his customer whether he would have square-toed or peaked-toed. The distinction between young and old in this fashion was so general, that sometimes a graceless youth, who had been crossed by his father or guardian in some of his unreasonable humors, would speak of him with the title of *Old Square-toes*.

Boots with yellow tops inverted, and coming up to the knee-band, were commonly worn by men somewhat advanced in years ; but the younger portion more generally wore half-boots, as they were called, made of elastic leather, cordovan. These, when worn, left a space of two or three inches between the top of the boot, and the knee-band. The great beauty of this fashion, as it was deemed by many, consisted in restoring the boots, which were stretched by drawing them on, to shape, and bringing them as nearly as possible into contact

with the legs; and he who prided himself most on the form of his lower limbs would work the hardest in pressure on the leather from the ankle upward in order to do this most effectually.

Although fashions inconvenient or absurd now and then arise, or return from their banishment, and enjoy temporary favor, yet, on the whole, the tendency has been, in recent times, toward improvement.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Theatre in Boston. — Contest for its Establishment against strong Opposition. — Era of the Law against Dramatic Exhibitions. Public Opinion prevails. — Theatre established without Repeal of Prohibitory Law. — Anxiety of Government of College, and its Friends, thereon. — Politics as affecting the College in the Year 1798. — Address of Students to the President of the United States. — Prohibition of Party Politics in Commencement Exercises of that Year. — Dissatisfaction of the Graduating Class. — Excitement allayed by Explanations of the Immediate Government.

AN occasional evening entertainment, which had the charm of novelty, besides its other attractions, to most of those students who first stepped on the classic ground of Cambridge in the year 1794, was the Theatre. The establishment of a theatre in Boston was an era, a revolution in the capital and the Commonwealth, brought about by public opinion, by a defiant but bloodless opposition to rigid statutes. A Provincial law of Massachusetts was passed in the year 1750, making the lessee of any room or place for theatrical exhibitions a general offence, and also subjecting persons who should attend such exhibitions to a penalty, provided the number should exceed twenty. The immediate occasion of this

law was the public dramatic performance of Otway's *Orphan*, or the *Unhappy Marriage*, in the town of Boston. This exhibition appears to have been a sort of amateur performance, introduced by two Englishmen, aided by casual associates from the town, but it gave great offence to the citizens. The law produced its intended effect, and was re-enacted by the legislature of Massachusetts soon after the establishment of its Constitution, namely, in 1784. Not long afterwards, however, the theatrical spirit revived. The revival gained proselytes, and in the autumn of the year 1791 the matter of the prohibitory law was brought before the town of Boston in legal meeting, when a majority of the citizens voted in favor of the repeal of the law, and gave instructions to their representatives in the General Court to act accordingly.

In the House of Representatives, at the January session in 1792, William Tudor moved to refer the expediency of repealing the law to a committee. The motion was negative; but it was afterwards reconsidered and adopted. A committee was appointed, which reported against repeal. The report was accepted, after a strenuous opposition in debate, conducted by William Tudor and Dr. Charles Jarvis of Boston, John Gardiner of Hallowell, and others. Mr. Gardiner's elaborate speech, prepared for the press by himself, was published at length. It is a singular production, more suited to the lecture-room than to a popular assembly; embracing historical sketches as well of the ancient as of the modern drama in different countries, with the addition of critical notes. He did not meet the subject by the amplification of arguments

based on moral grounds; but appealed rather to authority, to the usage of all civilized nations, which he pleaded in defence of dramatic exhibitions. Their liability to abuse he did not deny, but seemed to confide in the prevailing purity of character and delicacy of taste and sentiment of the people of Boston for security against any corrupt influence. Should this be insufficient, he suggested that "a number (five or more) of censors of the theatrical entertainments of the town may be annually chosen in town meeting, from among the worthy fraternity of tradesmen, the respectable body of merchants, the learned sons of the law, and even from among the venerable, enlightened, and truly respectable ministers of the Gospel." It was only for a well-regulated stage that he appeared as an advocate, declaring his conviction that no other would receive the sanction of the existing generation, and with a prescient belief, that such as their fathers and mothers were would be the generation that should come after them. With much learning he mingled not a little railing, together with plenty of harsh epithets. "The illiberal, unmanly, and despotic act which prohibits theatrical exhibitions," he said, "appears to me to be the brutal, monstrous spawn of a sour, envious, morose, malignant, and truly benighted superstition, which, with her impenetrable fogs, hath too long begloomed and disgraced this rising country." He was strenuous for the repeal as a matter of right, "the right of man"; but as an apology for not pursuing the subject in this view, he intimated that it would "receive convincing demonstration from his very worthy and truly excellent friend on the other side of the house, even from the

towering Bald Eagle of the Boston seat";* meaning Dr. Charles Jarvis, whose crown was depilous, and the prominent feature of whose face was aquiline;— a little too personal and pointed for strict parliamentary propriety.

The strenuous friends of theatrical entertainments, though baffled in their attempts to obtain the repeal of the prohibitory law, were not discouraged from making frequent efforts to gain their purpose. They deemed it wise, however, to proceed by evasion rather than by defiance. They erected a building which they named "New Exhibition Room," and opened it in August, 1792, by a strange medley of sentiment and song, of rope-dancing, tumbling, and ballet. But what's in a name? Little did it profit them in regard to the building, or in the delicate appellation given to the performances, which were styled moral lectures and moral dialogues. When it was announced, in the following October, by a bill of performances, that Mr. Harper and five other males and three females, named in the bill, would "deliver at the Exhibition Room a moral lecture in five parts, wherein the pernicious tendency of libertinism will be exemplified in the tragical history of George Barnwell, or the London Merchant," the disguise was too thin. If it showed any ingenuity, it showed no sagacity. It tended to excite public curiosity, not to allay public suspicion. It was incredible that players should all at once become severe moralists, convert the drama into homilies of pure

* In my early remembrance of the Representatives' chamber, a special seat was assigned to the Boston representatives, in front of the Speaker's desk; and the number of members from the town of Boston was for several years uniformly seven.

love, and thus teach virtue by its opposite. The managers and performers should have been more wary : —

“ Let's first, then, think of this :
Weigh what convenience, both of time and means,
May fit it to our shape. If this should fail,
And that our drift look through our bad performance,
'T were better not assayed.”

At the close of the first of the “five parts” of the “moral lecture,” the Sheriff of Suffolk, with a warrant from two of the acting justices of Boston, to arrest the violators of the law, pounced upon Harper, “causing a great uproar,” which was allayed by the exhortations of Mr. Tudor. Others became bail for Harper, and at his request the auditory withdrew. Thus ended the moral lectures. Harper was brought before the justices in Faneuil Hall; but in consequence of a legal defect in issuing the warrant, he was discharged. The excitement subsided, the law reposed, dramatic performances were resumed, and the Exhibition Room was soon superseded by the Federal Street Theatre, which was opened in February, 1794, and closed for the season on the 4th of July following.

In the the year 1793 the West Boston Bridge was completed, which made a saving of a mile's distance from Cambridge to State Street in Boston. This event, so immediately preceding the establishment of the Theatre upon a permanent plan, and giving such easy access to the holiday shows and evening amusements of the capital, and consequent exposure to its temptations to dissipation and vicious indulgences, occasioned great anxiety, as well to the government and friends of the College as to many of the parents of the students.

Indeed, the proximity of the seminary to Boston, and the increasing attractions to the students to visit it, either for pleasures innocent in themselves, but injurious to their habits of industry, or, on the contrary, for pleasures vicious in their tendency, and liable to prove fatal, not only to their intellectual improvement, but to their moral purity, led many thinking persons to discuss the question of the removal of the College into the interior of the State.

Doubtless, there were individual cases which seemed to justify the fears entertained on the subject of the locality of the College; but the question of the expediency of its removal was a wide one, expanding more and more widely as the discussion was prolonged. Many things were to be weighed in the balance, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find out when the hearing on both sides was exhausted, so as to determine the balance of good or ill in the long issue of a permanent change. The College was then, as now, surrounded by friends, by a refined society, by the learned, by men eloquent in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the senate. The good influence of such examples was not to be overlooked, and could not well be spared. The College had emerged, gradually, within little more than a decade of years, from extreme poverty and depression, to comparative prosperity. It could not, however, afford to be forgotten by men who had the power and the will to execute in its behalf their beneficent designs. Alienated some of them might be, if the seminary were banished to any obscure locality. Could this be effected even, it was by no means certain that the change would be salutary, — that it would prove to be a security to the

virtue or a stimulus to the industry of the youth. They could not be cloistered within new walls, and there guarded more vigilantly than they had been within the old. The genius of our literary, no less than of our social institutions, is adverse to a strict and jealous espionage ; and they appeal from suspicion and distrust to hopeful reliance on the openness, manliness, and ingenuousness of the young. After all that could be said, therefore, on the benefit of such a change in a moral view of the case, there would remain the chief difficulty, arising from large numbers associated together in their studies and recreations, much of whose aggregate character must result from their mutual action and influence one upon another, the effects of which, in general, are not so much the result of place as of previous habits and casual circumstances.

Whatever might be the degree of purity and simplicity of character among the people of a new location, changes of various kinds would shortly occur in the state of society among them, rapid changes it might be, caused independently of the sympathy of the newcomers with the possessors of the soil around them, or caused only partially by it ; and a new and more varied social condition would follow, the final effects of which it would transcend the power of prophecy to foretell, or the efforts of either party to control.

It was not long before this agitation about the future of the University was followed by necessary acquiescence in the existing state of things, outwardly, and the combat against temptation was left to the self-sustained efforts of ingenuous youth, aided by the co-operation of their natural guardians and their friends, and by the

vigilance and admonitions of their academical teachers and governors. That in some instances the dramatic fever preyed upon the healthy intellectual energies of students, and made the substantial nutriment of their minds comparatively tasteless and unrefreshing, I have no doubt. But the disease was seldom, and not long malignant, nor more to be dreaded than other moral diseases, less notorious, but more permanent, it may be, in their effects, if not equally pervasive.

Indeed, the sympathies between the literary men and the patrons of literature in Boston and the learned Faculty at the University were too binding to be severed without violence. Many of the Overseers, the most watchful visitors of the College, were permanent residents in Boston. Two of the Medical Professors also lived in Boston, and although it was many years after the time of which I am speaking that the medical department was removed to that town, yet in the interval the facility of access to it increased the ties between the academical and the political capital, which became more and more strengthened by intercommunity of the learned, and by union in scientific, literary, and charitable associations, and put at rest all schemes of separation.

The distribution of parts to be performed at public exhibitions by the students was, particularly for the Commencement exhibition, more than fifty years ago, as it still is, one of the most exciting events of College life among those immediately interested, in which parents and near friends also deeply sympathized with them. These parts were communicated to the individuals appointed to perform them by the President, who gave to them severally a paper, with the name of the

person and of the part assigned, and the subject to be written upon. But they were not then, as in recent times, after being thus communicated by the President, proclaimed by a voluntary herald of stentorian lungs, mounted on the steps of one of the College halls, to the assembled crowd of students. Curiosity, however, was all alive. Each one's part was soon ascertained ; the comparative merits of those who obtained the prizes were discussed in groups ; prompt judgments were pronounced, that A had received a higher prize than he could rightfully claim, and that B was cruelly wronged ; that some were unjustly passed over, and others raised above them through partiality. But at whatever length their discussion might have been prolonged, they would have found it difficult in solemn conclave to adjust the distribution to their own satisfaction, while severally they deemed themselves competent to measure the degree in the scale of merit to which each was entitled.

Besides the usual causes that produced more or less dissatisfaction with the appointments for the Commencement exhibition, there was in the class to which I belonged an incidental cause or occasion of complaint against the Immediate Government, which had no reference to the comparative merits of the individuals to whom the respective parts were assigned. This was a decree passed by the Immediate Government, forbidding the introduction of party politics into the public literary exercises of the candidates for their first degree. Offence had been taken on previous occasions at these anniversary performances, on account of disparaging reflections on the party in the minority. One

member of the Corporation, and several lay members of the Board of Overseers, were well known to belong to the Democratic party ; and as a matter of good feeling, of courtesy, of prudence, and not least, perhaps, of good policy, it was thought expedient to require this abstinence. It may have been that the decree was understood by the candidates for degrees in a sense more comprehensive than was intended by its authors ; but some caution seemed to be requisite for guarding against violent expressions of party feeling, which were occurring every day in the newspapers and the highways.

Federalism, in 1798, was triumphant in Massachusetts, pervading the whole Commonwealth. Its most marked distinctive character at that time was adherence to the administration of the federal government in its resistance to the hostile measures of the French government. The French Revolution, which in its earlier stages had been hailed with general enthusiasm, had lost by its excesses, and by the intermeddling of the government and its agents with our national affairs, the sympathy of the great mass of our citizens. The audacious interference of the French minister, Adet, with the administration of the government of the United States, denouncing Washington's declaration of neutrality and other alleged wrongs, and not least the treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain, (declaring these acts to be the occasion of suspending his ministerial relations with the United States, which were not to be resumed "until the government returned to sentiments and measures more conformable to the interests of the alliance,") was regarded and commented upon by the Federalists, who were the unswerving friends

and supporters of Washington's administration, as an unpardonable outrage against the whole country.

The letter of Adet containing these denunciations, which was addressed to the Secretary of State, was evidently intended to reach the public eye, and inflame the people against the government. By some means a copy of it was sent to a printer on the day of its date, and an abstract of it was published, containing its violent accusations against the executive, while the electioneering campaign was in progress, and the combatants were busy in the field, exerting their utmost efforts to gain the victory for their respective candidates to succeed the present incumbents in the highest offices of the government. After an impassioned appeal to the American citizens, in order "to carry back their recollections to the French as disinterested allies, and to the British as savage oppressors of their country," it concluded thus : "Let your government return to itself, and you will still find Frenchmen most faithful friends and generous allies."

To this insult to the government and people of the United States, offered within their own borders by a foreign minister withdrawn from his public function, corresponded the treatment which our ministers received in France. The outrageous reflections of the French Directory on the government of the United States, accompanied by flattering words of affection for the people, in their address to Mr. Monroe, when he was recalled from his mission, and their insolent language to Mr. Pinckney, his successor, declaring that they would "not receive another minister from the United States until after the redress of grievances which the French govern-

ment had a right to exact from it," followed by personal abuse of Mr. Pinckney, were flagrant indignities, the account of which did not reach the United States until after Mr. Adams' (contrary to the implied dictation of the French Directory and its ministers) had been elected President. Soon after his inauguration, the President issued a proclamation for the assembling of Congress, which met according to its requirements on the 15th of May, 1797. The President, as it appeared in his speech to the two Houses, in which he spoke in proper terms of resentment of the treatment of Mr. Pinckney, had determined to make further trial of negotiation; recommending at the same time, according to the usages of nations, the adoption of effectual measures of defence in case of a rupture. Such measures were accordingly taken by Congress; and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry were nominated and confirmed as Envoys Extraordinary.

The government of France had constantly taken care to be well informed of the state of parties in the United States. It had probably received accounts, somewhat exaggerated, of the strength of the party that followed in the train of the apologists for France and its rulers, and defended or excused them through all their mad vicissitudes. When the envoys arrived and made known their errand, instead of being received with courtesy or even cold respect, they were told by the Directory, in substance, that the selection of ministers from the political party which supported the administration of the government of the United States furnished just cause of dissatisfaction. While the envoys were waiting to be received, they were visited by

informal agents of the Directory, who demanded openly and explicitly a tribute in money from the United States as a preliminary condition of entering upon negotiation. The demand was followed by threats intended to operate on the fears of the envoys for themselves and their country. The irresistible power of France, illustrated by examples, was described in strong colors, and the envoys, as if they were menials, were told that, if they expected their conduct would be approved in the United States, they would be sorely disappointed, and that the Directory possessed ample means in that country, which would be employed to render them odious to its citizens. The efforts of the envoys to obtain a reception were unavailing; and equally unavailing were the mean attempts of the Directory to exact a tribute. The last scene in this farce was that of singling out an individual from the envoys to be trifled with by the Directory, who urged Pinckney and Marshall to retire; these gentlemen, well knowing that their alternative was a compliance with the request, or a compulsory departure from the territories of the Republic. Mr. Gerry was permitted to remain, hoping, doubtless, to do his country some service. What followed, which was to no purpose as to the objects of the mission, may be found in the newspapers of the year 1798.

The spirit of the Federal party was now at its culminating height; and though their opponents were not wholly silenced, their voice was heard but faintly amidst the clamor of the indignant multitude around them. The voice of the people was loud against the government of France, and the popular cry was, " Millions for

defence, but not a cent for tribute." Hostilities on the ocean commenced; an army was raised; the preparation for defence and retaliation of injuries, made by the government, were responded to with ardor by the mass of citizens, and written addresses calculated to give confidence and strength to the executive government were directed to the President from all parts of the country.

The young men of Harvard College were not tardy in manifesting their zeal in the same cause. While politics everywhere reigned paramount above all other topics, the academic halls could not be turned into monastic nooks, nor the young men restrained from the patriotic fervor glowing all around them.

It was about the middle of May, and a few weeks only before the parts were assigned to members of my class for Commencement exhibition in the year 1798, that a meeting of the undergraduates was held, by leave of the President of the University, to take measures for addressing the President of the United States. The Seniors were of course expected to take the lead. The meeting was held; and from this class Artemas Sawyer, Joseph Story, Thomas Welsh, William Ellery Channing, and William Williams were chosen a committee to write the proposed address, and to report the same for acceptance. The committee performed promptly the duty assigned, and reported a written address, which was accepted unanimously, and signed by one hundred and seventy undergraduates of the College. The following is a copy of the address.

"Harvard College, May 15th, 1798.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES.

"Sir,— We flatter ourselves you will not be displeased at hearing that the walls of your native seminary are inhabited by youth possessing sentiments congenial with your own. We do not pretend to great political sagacity. We wish only to convince mankind that we inherit the intrepid spirit of our ancestors, and disdain submission to the will of a rapacious, lawless, and imperious nation. Though removed from active life, we have watched with anxiety the interests of our country. We have seen a nation in Europe grasping at universal conquest, trampling on the laws of God and nations, systematizing rapine, and plundering and destroying foreign governments by the strength of her arms or the pestilence of her embraces, and scattering principles which subvert social order, raise the storms of domestic faction, and perpetrate the horrors of revolution. We have seen this same nation violating our neutral rights, spurning our pacific propositions, her piratical citizens sweeping our ships from the seas, and venal presses under her control pouring out torrents of abuse upon men who have grown gray in our service. We have seen her minister in this country insulting our government by a daring, unprecedented, and presumptuous appeal to the people, and her agents at home offering conditions which slaves, whose necks have grown to the yoke, would reject with indignation. We have seen this, sir, and our youthful blood has boiled within us. When, in opposition to this conduct, we contemplate the measures of our own government, we cannot but

admire as well as venerate the unsullied integrity, the decisive prudence, and dignified firmness which have uniformly characterized your administration. Impressed with these sentiments, we now solemnly offer the unwasted energies of our youth to the service of our country. Our lives are our only property ; and we were not the sons of those who sealed our liberties with their blood, if we would not defend with these lives that soil which now affords a peaceful grave to the mouldering bones of our forefathers."

Of the committee whose names I have already mentioned, Williams is the only survivor, although he was the oldest of the five. To Channing, the youngest, belongs the credit of the authorship of the address. I believe Judge Story, who survived Dr. Channing about three years, certified this fact to Dr. Channing's biographer.

The address was answered by the President in a spirit which did not damp the ardor of its signers.

The high tone of public feeling on the political topics of the day had not subsided when the parts, soon afterwards, were assigned to the Senior Class for the public exhibition at Commencement. When simultaneously the decree of the Immediate Government was announced, namely, that party politics were to be excluded from the performances, it was thought to be an abridgment of the freedom of speech not to be borne. Forensic and philosophical discussions and conferences were the performances which were assigned to most of the class who were to take part in the public exhibitions. For these, subjects were chosen by the Immediate Government ; but the subjects of the orations were chosen by

the orators themselves. This distinction was according to established usage. Channing, to whom, agreeably to the universal expectation of the class, was assigned the concluding oration, declined to accept the appointment ; to which oration, as it might naturally be supposed, if not guarded against by anticipation, it would become necessary, in the existing political *furor*, to apply the *index expurgatorius*; which would be more offensive, probably, than the *interdictum præcedens*.

Every tongue was now busy in discussing the merits of the case. Should the orator persevere in his determination, his failure to perform his part would be fatal to the public exhibition of his class. Its sympathy was with him, and should he so persevere, others were ready to follow his example. It was an unpleasant, probably a painful, dilemma for him ; involving also dear friends and companions, and generous patrons, and (most painful of all) nearest kindred, to whom he was bound by the strongest ties of affection.

“A strong dilemma in a desperate case,
To act by stern command, or quit the place.”

Here was the alternative, in the first aspect of the case. It had been settled by precedent, that he who refused to perform a part assigned to him at an exhibition should forfeit his connection with the College. Such being the case, there was an imperative call for sober reflection. Cannot some expedient be devised, saving the dignity both of the governors and of the subjects ? It was incumbent on the part of the remonstrants to ascertain the full extent and meaning of the resolution of the College government, which I believe was an-

nounced orally to those who were summoned to go to the President's study and receive their several appointments ; and probably without explanatory details. By some process, informal or otherwise, the government were led to draw up and reduce to writing a statement, defining the limits within which political subjects might be discussed by the candidates for degrees in their public performances. It was as follows : "The concluding orator, and others whose subjects admit it, are allowed to speak on patriotism or love of country, on the excellences of our constitution of government, on the wisdom and integrity of the administration, on the propriety of rallying round the American standard, on resistance to foreign influence, and on the baneful effects of modern infidelity and atheism ; but they are prohibited from invectives against any description of American citizens, or any foreign nation or individuals." This explanation, though it might not satisfy the wishes, so far allayed the excitement of those concerned, that it subsided into acquiescence. The orator, on the stage, availed himself of his privilege to its full extent for his purpose, and upon the very brink of transgression checked himself, and with his powerful oratorical tones, in his transition, exclaimed : " Were I permitted,

' I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow up your souls.'"

A large part of the auditory, aware of the trammels that caused him to turn aside the current of his thought, burst forth into a deafening tumult of applause, that seemed loth to die away.

I remember, not many days before Commencement,

conducting the orator (my friend and classmate) to the President's chamber, to which he was confined by severe illness, in order to receive his remarks upon the oration, which had been left for his inspection, and which he had read during intervals when he was relieved from pain. The President expressed his full approbation of it, and required no alterations or omissions.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE following is the poem referred to on the twenty-seventh page. It is anonymous ; but it was well known that Joseph Willard was the author.

Sacred to the Memory of Dr. Wigglesworth.

THE prophet's soul has bid adieu to earth,
Soar'd on cœlestial wings, and gain'd its home ;
Its native home, where kindred spirits throng,
To bid it welcome to the heavenly shores.
Forgive my muse, if in the general grief,
Which paints a solemn gloom in ev'ry face,
She drops a tear o'er his black-mantled urn,
And mourns his exit from a weeping world.

T' eradicate the passions from the soul,
To be unmov'd with depths of human woe,
Whate'er the Stoicks say, is all a dream :
Who knew our frame, of man the greatest friend,
Jesus, by his own tears at Laz'rus' tomb
Mark'd the just debt to our departed friends.
Rouse, rouse, my muse, in numbers celebrate

The sage divine and venerable saint ;
 Who, firm and placid, ran the earthly race,
 His heart unmov'd, his life without a stain.

Strong and capacious were his mental pow'rs ;
 His judgment clear and sound ; his diction pure ;
 His ev'ry word and line, full fraught with sense,
 Deep thought bespoke and treasures all his own.
 Great were his talents in defence of truth :
 'T was here he shone with a distinguish'd ray.
 How would he strip sophistic arguments
 Of ev'ry specious glare, that leads astray
 From truth's unerring paths th' unwary mind !
 How, with his cogent reasons, strongly urge
 The grand, th' important doctrines of his Lord ;
 'Till, clear'd of all obscurity and doubt,
 His subjects shone bright as the noon-day sun !

Ye sons of Harvard, say, for ye can tell,
 Who once, so highly blest, sat at his feet
 And catch'd th' instructive accents from his tongue,
 His weighty trust how faithfully discharg'd ;
 How steady he pursu'd that noble aim, —
 To form your morals, to inspire your hearts
 With love of virtue, and pure wisdom's ways ;
 To fill your minds with all-important truths.
 Oh WIGGLESWORTH ! could wisdom, learning, sense,
 Protect their sons, and save them from the tomb ;
 Could meekness, charity, and ev'ry grace,
 That e'er combind'd t' adorn a human soul,
 Their vot'ries snatch from death's rapacious jaws,
 Sure thou, blest shade, hadst ne'er become his prey.

Ye indigent, bewail the gen'rous man,
 Whose heart humane has felt for your distress ;
 Whose lib'r al hand has oft supply'd your wants,
 And dealt its Godlike favours all around.
 He is no more ! no more shall ye partake
 Those kind reliefs he bounteously bestow'd.

Ye children of the dear departed saint,
Witness your parent's love, whose tender breast
Felt all your joys, partook of all your griefs.
Wise were his counsels, gentle his reproofs :
In ev'ry act parental love appear'd :
His conduct tended to excite esteem
And filial piety within the breast.
But now, alas ! of such a tender fire
Bereft, what words can speak the depths of woe !
The matchless Grecian painter, when he drew
The horrors in each countenance, express'd
At sight of Iphigenia sacrific'd,
Near Aulis, on the cruel Grecian shores,
Despairing of his skill to represent
Her agonizing father's deep distress,
Conceal'd his face beneath his mantling robe,
And wisely left the world to guess that grief,
That anguish which his pencil could not paint.
Thus cease, my pen, t' attempt th' unequal task,
To picture woe which silence better speaks
Than all th' expressive language mortals use.

Ye friends of virtue, friends of the deceas'd,
Come, mingle tears, and vent your gen'rous sighs ;
Weep o'er the man, whose tongue was wont to charm
Your captivated hearts ; while in discourse
From his warm breast, by social virtues fir'd,
You catch'd an equal flame.
True was his frendship, for his open heart
Nor knew deceit, nor brook'd the least disguise.
Serene his temper, undisturb'd by cares ;
His mind, sedate in ev'ry scene of life,
Display'd the Christian, who, unmov'd by ills,
Can sit and smile while earth's foundations shake.

While some, whose lives for virtue were renown'd,
Who passed for Christians of distinguish'd rank,
Could only boast of some few shining deeds,
Like scatter'd stars o'er Æther's vast expanse ;

His ev'ry year, with virtuous actions crown'd,
Glow'd like the milky way, thick set with stars.
Witness, ye walls, where contemplation reign'd ;
Where he his thoughtful hours, unwear'y'd, spent,
Witness the fervour of his heav'nly mind ;
How, while he mus'd on themes divinely bright,
His raptur'd soul to empyrean skies
Has wing'd its way, and view'd the blest abodes,
Where joys perennial dwell, whence blissful streams
Of pleasures, ever new, flow without end ;
And ravish'd saints for ever tune their voice,
To sing that love which rais'd them to those seats.
Then has he wish'd to quit his earthly frame,
Which kept his soul a pris'ner here confin'd,
And long'd to join th' assembled choirs above,
To prove those joys, and mix his songs with theirs.

Let this our sorrows soothe, and dry our tears,
That death, the last of foes, has lost his sting.
Has prov'd a friend to loose the weary soul,
And raise it to the realms of endless bliss.
Now he imbibes full draughts of heav'nly joy,
From living springs fast by the throne of God ;
His soul is free to range the azure fields,
And sweets inhale from ev'ry fragrant flow'r.
Cease then, ye tears, and cease, each murmur'ring sigh ;
Be ev'ry passion hush'd. — He reigns with Christ.

Ye, who survive, those virtues make your own,
Which shone conspicuous through the holy life ;
This will embalm his precious mem'ry more
Than panegyrics of sublimest strain.

No. II.

Ceremonies at the Inauguration of President Willard.

[From the Boston Gazette and County Journal, Monday, December 31, 1781.]

THE Rev. Joseph Willard of Beverly having been elected President of the University of Cambridge, was, on Wednesday, the 19th instant, publicly inducted into that office. His Excellency the Governor, with the Overseers and Corporation, and other gentlemen who attended on the occasion, having met in Harvard Hall, walked in procession from thence to the meeting-house in the following order. The Students of the University; the Librarian with the seal, books, and chart, and the Butler with the keys; the honorable and reverend Corporation; the honorable and reverend Overseers; a considerable number of the reverend clergy, and other respectable gentlemen.

When the assembly were seated the Rev. Dr. Cooper made a short address upon the importance of the occasion, and the propriety of imploring the Divine blessing, and opened the solemnity with prayer. After which his Excellency the Governor [John Hancock], in an elegant Latin speech, congratulated the University and its friends on the happy occasion, and, with the warmest expressions of good-will and affection to his Alma Mater, anticipated the future prosperity of that society to which he had proved himself so affectionate and liberal a son, and which he considered in some sense the parent as well as the nurse of the late happy revolution in this Commonwealth, introducing Mr. Willard into his office, by delivering the seal, books, charter, and keys, seating him in the President's chair, and declaring him, in the name of the Overseers and Corporation, President of Harvard College.

The President then delivered his Inaugural Oration, in which, after an affectionate and respectful address to the Governor, the Overseers and Corporation, the Professors and Tutors, the students, and the assembly in general, and expressing a particular regard to his late pastoral charge at Beverly, he took occasion towards the close to congratulate the country on the late important success of the combined forces of France and America, and the happy prospect which now opened to the United States.

The oration being ended, his Excellency made a short reply to the President.

Being thus invested in his office, the President ascended the pulpit and announced to the assembly that the University had conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on his Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the Honorable Arthur Lee, Esquire, and his Excellency John Adams, Esquire, and the degree of Master of Arts on Colonel Seth Reed. Mr. Paine, a Junior Bachelor, then pronounced a handsome Latin Oration adapted to the occasion.* After which a prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Howard, and the solemnity was closed by an anthem, well performed by the young gentlemen of the University.

The assembly then returned to the Hall, where a very decent entertainment was provided for them, and every one expressed high satisfaction in all the circumstances of the day.

In the evening, the students, to express their joy on the occasion, by the leave of their instructors, illuminated the Colleges, which, from disposition of the lights in a variety of figures, exhibited a very pleasing and brilliant appearance.

* Elijah Paine, who was graduated in the same year, and continued his residence at College.

No. III.

THIS Monody, referred to on page 205, was printed in the second volume of the Literary Miscellany, preceded by the following editorial remark :— “ We insert with pleasure the following short, yet beautiful and plaintive Monody on the death of the late beloved President Willard. It was written at the time by a young gentleman, then a student of the University in Cambridge.”

MONODY ON THE DEATH OF THE REV. JOSEPH WIL-
LARD, LL.D., S.T.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY IN CAMBRIDGE.

FAR hence let folly's train retire ;
For man should mourn below ;
With sober hand attune the lyre,
And thrill the chords of woe.
Stop, mortal, stop thy mad career,
Death's never-bating charioteer
Relentless drives his rapid way,
And mournful millions bow submissive to his sway.

Alas, what numerous ills await
Our short existence here !
The wise, the virtuous, and the great,
How soon they disappear !
Go, mortal of reflective soul,
Behold the ocean billows roll
In sad succession to the shore ;
They rise, and break, and foam, and then are heard
no more ;

Thus hourly short-lived mortals go
To crowd the darkened strand ;

Alike the mighty and the low,
 A melancholy band.
 Yet the pale monarch most appalls,
 When some high-towering mortal falls ;
 Unheeded breathe the zephyrs by ;
 We trembling view the storm loud thundering through
 the sky.

Remembrance sorrowing loves to tread
 In holy, pensive gloom
 The awful mansions of the dead,
 And weep o'er virtue's tomb ;
 Call back to life the slumbering clay,
 Their forms with pleasing dread survey ;
 Or, if religion lift the veil,
 We view their spirits, where nor cares nor woes assail.

Thus now in fancy's tearful eye,
 Lo, WILLARD's form appears
 Among the white-robed bands on high,
 Crowned for immortal years.
 Why then unkindly wish him here ?
 Alas, 't is nature prompts the tear.
 Memory still hovers o'er his grave,
 As evening sunbeams love to linger on the wave.

Those classic bowers, that nursed his youth,
 Shall long repeat his name ;
 And history with the pen of truth
 Perpetuate his fame.
 To him the sacred task was given
 To lead our youthful souls to heaven ;
 His purest footsteps then we 'll tread ;
 By following them alone we "truly mourn the dead."

No. IV.

THE following is the epitaph referred to on page 206, inscribed on the marble placed horizontally on the foundation of the monument.

JOSEPHO . WILLARD . S . T . D . LL . D .

Collegii . Harvardini . Præsidi . XIII.

Biddefordiaæ . In . Provincia . Manensi . Nato

Abavi . Simonis . De . Republica

Proavi . Samuelis . De . Collegio

Bene . Merentium . Æmulo

Novæ . Bedfordiaæ . Mortuo . An . M . DCCC . IV . Ætatis . Suæ . LXVI
Viro . Integerrimo . Strenuo . Docto . Pio

Theologiæ . Astronomiæ . Et . Græcarum . Literarum . Apprime . Perito
Ecclesiæ . In . Beverleio . Pastori . Fidelissimo

Qui . Quum . Tutor . Primum . Ac . Socius . In . Academia . Fuisset
Postremum . Eandem . Dum . Incommodis . Belli . Recentibus
Elanguescebat

Suscipiens . Erexit . Sanis . Instruxit . Disciplinis

Et . Tanta . Cum . Gravitate . Candore . Benignitate

Per . XXIII . Circiter . Annos . Administravit

Ut . Egregiam . Apud . Omnes . Sibi . Compararit . Opinionem
Senatus . Academicus
H . M . Ponendum . Curavit.

No. V. .

I HAVE said that President Willard was fond of young company, as visitors at his house. A lady who was intimate with my elder sisters, and was a great favorite in the family, in which she passed much time at different

intervals, says, in a letter to her surviving correspondent :—

“I have heard of nothing that gives me more pleasure than to hear that your brother is writing reminiscences of your father. All who remember him bear towards his memory the highest respect and admiration. It will be an honor to the College of which he was a most benignant, dignified head. I wish I had something to commemorate. I could speak largely to your private ear of my admiration and love for him, and of the almost rapture with which I gazed upon the fine, benevolent expression of his countenance when conversing freely with him.”

No. VI.

THE following letter was not received until the Biography of President Willard had been printed.

Boston, February 13, 1855.

HON. SIDNEY WILLARD :—

My dear Sir,— I once mentioned to you an incident in the life of your good father, ever gratefully remembered by me, which I trust it may not be unacceptable to you for me to repeat. In the latter part of my College life, on my application to Mr. Gannett, then Steward, to pay one of my quarter bills, he replied, that, by order of the President, it had been discharged ; and for explanation I must see him. I accordingly waited on him, who, receiving me in a very kind and affectionate manner, desired me to be seated ; observed that until recently he was not aware that a grandson of his early friend, Henry Newman, long deceased, was under his care as one of the undergraduates, whose father's misfortunes had im-

paired his means punctually to meet his expenses. The President regretted the occasion, and gladly availed himself of the opportunity to evince his regard for the memory of the friend of his youth in this manner. He then particularly inquired respecting the health and condition of my aged grandmother, and desired most affectionately to be remembered to her. When I communicated to her his message and his kind attention to me, she was quite sensibly affected, and at once replied that she had known young Willard as among the favorites of her long deceased husband, who had felt great interest in the success of young men, especially those preparing for the pulpit.

With much respect,

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,
HENRY NEWMAN.

END OF VOL. I.









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Author Willard, Sidney.

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W

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